King George I belonged to the Haa Ngata Motua, the lineage of his father; his mother was of the Haa Havea; he was adopted by the [Tui ?] Haa Teiho. William Tungi belongs to Haa Takalaua, the lineage of his father. Taimi or Salote Toafilimoeunga belongs to the lineage of her father, the Haa Fale Fisi, her mother's lineage was the Haa Vaea. Fangupo of Vavau belongs to Haa Ngata Tupu, presumably through his father. John Tupou, of Nukualofa, belongs to Haa Takalaua, the lineage of his father. Malakai Lavulo, of Pangai, Lifuka, belongs to the Haa Ngata Motua through his father. William Finau, to that of his father, Haa Fale Fisi, his mother's was the Haa Havea. John Nuku Finaulahi belonged to his father's Haa Ngata Motua, his father's mother was of the Haa Latu Hifo. Moungatonga of Fotuhaa Island, Haapai, belongs to Haa Takalaua. Naitoka belongs to Haa Ngata Motua, the lineage of his father. He recognizes Ahomee of the Haa Vakatolo division of this lineage as his chief, to whom he is related. Although Naitoka was born at Nukualofa in central Tongatabu, his father was born in the Hihifo (western) district of that island, which is the stronghold of the Haa Ngata Motua. 613

Tracing of lineage through the mother is not considered proper and is 611
usually followed only because the connection with the mother's *haa* gives 613
greater prestige or because the father is a foreigner. If annoyed at something, a person might shift his allegiance from his father's to his mother's chief. Tamale, the aged and erudite chief of Niutoua, quoted the proverb, "He oku ai ha ika e lele ki he mahi" (The fish is hardly likely to swim backward), meaning that in *haa* reckoning a person would follow his father rather than his mother. Needless to say, where the tracing of lineage is correctly patrilinear, the mother's *haa* is remembered.

The following are examples of matrilinear reckoning of the *haa*:

Mafi, a woman, belongs to mother's lineage Haa Takalaua; mother, a woman of Lifuka Island, Haapai; father, a man of Niuatoputapu, to which place her mother was taken upon marriage. The *haa* of father not known.

Daniel Faupula, son of John Faupula, who was a Fijian of Lakemba, belongs to the Haa Fale Fisi through his mother who belonged to the Haa Ngana division of that lineage.

John Fakailoatonga belongs to Haa Takalaua through his father Tuakilotoa.

John Feiloakitau Kaho, younger brother of the late premier Tui Vakano, states that he and his brothers belong to the Haa Havea through their mother. Their father was of the Haa Toutai Fokololo.

An adopted child belongs to the *haa* of the adoptive father. 613

Gods were connected with the various lineages and incidentally sacred [597]
animals in which the gods became incarnate. There is no belief in descent [776]
from the sacred animal. It is said that there were no badges or tattoo pat- [825]
terns to distinguish members of different lineages. [304]

Agents or ambassadors (*malanga*) of certain of the great lineages seem to have resided with neighboring great lineages and acted as intermediaries in all their transactions of importance; for example:

Vahai was originally ambassador of the Haa Latu Hifo to the Haa Ngata Motua. He was invited by the Haa Ngata Motua to become a member and he accepted. Momotu, who resides with the Haa Ngata Motua chiefs at the seat of Ata, the head of this

heads of subdivisions or families (as the informant actually called them). 613
The two family heads in each group are (1) Kamoto and Uhi, in Tongatabu; (2) Kofe and Afeaki, in Haapai; (3) Fotu and Afu Haa Laufuli, in Vavau; (4) Sika and Kaufanga, in Niuatoputapu; (5) Masila and Haufano, in Niuafoou; (6) and Elili and Fakahenga in Uvea. Motuapuaka, of Tongatabu is regarded as the head of the entire *haa,* in spite of the fact that Kamoto and Uhi are said to be his superiors in rank. The ascendancy of Motuapuaka himself is attributed to the influence of the Tui Kanokupolu chiefs. The relationship of the two heads in each group was not ascertained, nor was their relationship to Motuapuaka himself. The Motuapuaka who was living in 1921 was senile and useless as an informant.

The Haa Motuapuaka held the octopus (*feke*) in reverence, as the incarnation [825]
of their god. All members of the Haa Motuapuaka trace their [776]
descent to Molofaha, a Samoan man.

The very widespread distribution of the Haa Motuapuaka is undoubtedly deliberate. Motuapuaka is one of the two chief ceremonial attendants of the Tui Kanokupolu. The heads of families in each island group function in Motuapuaka's place when the Tui Kanokupolu visits these groups and Motuapuaka himself is not in attendance. The questions suggest themselves as to whether these men are really of the same blood as Motuapuaka, and whether, in order to meet ceremonial requirements, individuals of other blood have not been arbitrarily assigned to the Haa Motuapuaka.

LINEAGES IN SPEECH PRELUDES

Before a speaker settles down to the matter which causes him to address 195
an assemblage of chiefs he must enumerate the various great chiefs and 537
lineages, saying, "Tapu to so-and-so, and tapu to so-and-so," etc. These personages 576
are said to be mentioned in order of rank, but the recorded speeches [622]
do not altogether bear this out, or perhaps the relative rank of different chiefs [613]
has varied, just as the Tui Tonga and Tui Haa Takalaua have gone into total
eclipse. In fact there are two great preludes (*fakataputapu*), one obsolete [643]
and connected with the Tui Tonga and his kava circle, the other connected with the Tui Haa Takalaua or Tui Kanokupolu and his kava circle. The first is called the prelude of the Kauhalauta (Inland-side-of-the-road), the second is called the prelude of the Kauhalalalo (Shore-side-of-the-road), as these two great royal houses are metaphorically called. Nowadays it is customary to mention the Deity first, then the King and great chiefs. After completing the enumeration the speaker says, "And allow me to speak."

Two examples of preludes for speeches at the Tui Tonga's kava circle 195
were recorded. One has been published (15, p. 32), the other is given 537
below. These differ considerably from one another, a fact open to two in- 574
643
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ANCIENT LINEAGES

The fact that most of the modern lineages do not antedate 1600 in their 613
traditional origins causes speculation as to what the lineages were before 175
that date. That there were earlier lineages seems without a shadow of doubt,
for it seems inconceivable that lineages suddenly originated with the assassination of Takalaua in the fifteeenth century. Moreover, the apparently
transient character of the modern lineages, which obviously depend upon
the political prestige of their heads, makes it all the more apparent that there
must have been similar groups before 1450. A traditionally older lineage is
the Haa Talafale. Perhaps more ancient is the Haa Vaipoa, reputed to antedate the Tui Tonga's control of the Vavau group. This *haa* seems to be
without members to-day. Its god was probably Mahina, who went from [776]
Vavau to Tongatabu with water in his mouth, which he dropped at
Tufumahina.

Tongan place names seem to offer a clue to the ancient lineages. Of place 103
names recorded, 284 begin with the stem *haa,* the term used in designating 613
the several great modern lineages. (See 25, pp. 77-89.) Although to-day 174
these names refer only to places and not to people, it is conceivable that they once referred to the people who lived in these places. This view is strengthened when it is noted that several of the place names refer to ancient chiefs and are thus comparable to the modern lineage names. The paternal aunt of Tui Haa Teiho stated that most of the tracts which formerly belonged to the Tui Tonga had names beginning with the stem *haa.*

Among other things, the place names refer to bodily peculiarities (Haaila, 103
family or lineage with a mark on the body; Haamotuavae, family of the 613
big toe), to occupations (Haafata, family of bearers; Haafetuku, family 174
of carriers; Haafeuni, family of weavers; Haafota, family of masseurs),
and to plants and animals (Haahenga, family of the parrakeet; Haakaho,
family of the reeds; Haakulu, family of the *kulu* trees; Haalai, family of
the *lai* fish.) These plant and animal names suggest a former totemism, but [825]
more likely refer to the plant or animal sacred to the god of the lineage: an [776]
assumption in accord with the modern lineages, which had patron deities
and sacred animals, although there was no belief in descent from animals.

The multiplicity of these supposed lineages revealed by place names makes it likely that the ancient lineages comprised much smaller numbers of people than the few lineages to-day. On the other hand, granting that the place names do stand for ancient lineages, it is unlikely that they were all contemporaneous. Doubtless old ones died out, or were submerged by changing political fortunes, and new ones arose, just as the most powerful modern lineages have arisen within the last three centuries.

The first Matauvave came from Mua, Tongatabu. He was accompanied by an official 643
named Uto [probably Kolomoeuto mentioned above]. Matauvave went to live in Uoleva 634
Island. If he wanted to let the people know that he was going to give a command (*fono*) 173
he would send someone to the north shore of Uoleva to remove his garment and expose
his buttocks. Then the people in Lifuka would know that the governor was going [201]
to give a command as to certain work to be done. If the signal were given in the
afternoon, the people assembled that evening in Uoleva. When a chief's grave was 634
to be dug or a pigeon mound to be erected sufficient labor was obtained for the earth 173
to be dug and the mound formed in the night. In the morning the mound (*sia*) would 466
be already made. The only reason the informant could assign for the night work
was to make the people "sorry."

Uoleva was set aside as a pigeon reserve and had only the necessary people 223
dwelling on it. The Uoleva mounds were built by the Lifuka people. The name of 349
the first mound built on Uoleva was Finevalapililolo. The second was Siamaka. The
third was Siakape; the fourth was Kulufotu. Kulufotu was where the wild pigeons 173
were caught with nets set on long poles, into which they were decoyed by a captive 103
pigeon on a long cord. Tunuetefekekaekaieteika was the fifth pigeon mound built and
Tulikituahaa the sixth. A seventh mound was Mamataatu. The present Matauvave
said there were many others built, about thirty in all, but he knew the names of only
seven. He said all were provided with ramps or steps and that some were larger
than the Siamafuauta in Tongatabu. He knew of no sacrifices in connection with
pigeon mound construction.

Matauvave would stand on the *sia* of Mamataatu. At dusk a flock of pigeons 223
would make a sudden appearance in Lofanga Island. Then they would come to Matauvave's 173
sia and he would catch them. But the *lupetoto* (perhaps "pigeon spirit") died
there and not one pigeon came again. Then he shifted to Muitoa in Haano and the
name of the *sia* erected there by the Haano people is Toloke. It seems likely that [349]
the numerous pigeon mounds on the neighboring Nukunamu Island may have been
erected also under a Matauvave's directions. Pigeons migrated from Samoa to Tonga [825]
in October, when it was said that anciently they came in such numbers as to look like
a cloud. They were said to remain in Tonga until March. [The species is *Globicera
pacifica*.]

The mound Huluipaongo on the shore of Lifuka Island, facing Uoleva, 764
is the burial place of holders of the Matauvave title, the latest one interred 634
being the mother's brother of the incumbent of 1920. This mound is said
to have originated from the clay thrown ashore by people washing their
heads in the sea after building pigeon mounds. The clay used occurs as [134]
a subsoil in Uoleva.

The first Matauvave is reputed to have built the fortress Velata, Lifuka Island. 634
All Haapai furnished laborers for this work. 173

One Matauvave came and stayed in a place called Tokilangi, which stands in
Fanganonu in Pangai, Lifuka. His daughter went to Uoleva and she slipped from
the ford (*ahanga*) and hurt herself. That is why the place is called Kofokohaangatoma.
All the people were then told to make a road connecting the two islands at low [491]
tide and it was called Taaemaka. There were two roads made.

The first Matauvave who was taken to be governor of Haapai died there. He
was buried on the seashore at Nuanga, Lifuka Island. His god was Aloalo. Tamatuiumee [776]
was the name of his *api* or tract of land.

Another man was appointed [Taufa Tofua] to dwell in Tofua Island and at the
same time the warrior Havili was appointed to stay in Lofanga Island.

is to be found in the story of Tui Tofua (26, p. 77), one version of which 622
specifically states that the first-born sons were Tui Tofua's associates. 554

A chief's virgin daughter seems to have been called *taupoou*, a Samoan [591]
term which is probably equivalent to the Tongan *taahine*. Girls, classed as [592]
taupoou, at times took part in dances, sometimes leading, and usually wore [535]
finer garments than their dancing associates. The *taupoou* or *taahine* chewed [291]
and made kava for visiting high chiefs. She did no cooking, but might [276]
sweep the interior and the immediate exterior of the house. Orange juggling [574]
was one of her pastimes. There seems to have been no official *taupoou* as [252]
in Samoa. [356] [526]

The term *manaia* (a man particularly successful in love affairs) which [831]
in Samoa is applied to the chief's son, apparently is not used in Tonga as [551]
a title, though evidence is conflicting, but is used in personal names. If *manaia* and *taupoou* were recognized positions in Tonga, undoubtedly early writers would have mentioned them.

Among special names for girls of rank those referring to the *lupe* or [551]
large fruit pigeon (*Globicera pacifica*) were often used. Two examples of [825]
such names for chiefly girls are Lupefolau and Lupepauu.

Special care was taken of the complexion of girls of rank. The following 622
processes were used: (a) *kaukautuitui*, the rubbing of the entire body with 554
chewed candle nut (*tuitui*); (b) painting of entire body, excluding lips, with 302
a mixture (*valienga*) of *lolo* oil and turmeric (*enga*). This was done twice 565
a week on alternate weeks and after several hours was washed off, and the skin dressed with oil, to produce a smooth glistening surface; (c) keeping in shade to prevent sunburn.

After bathing a chief's daughter previous to her retiring, her female attendants chew scented fruits and flowers, and mixing the masticated material with scented oil rub it over her body. [515]

A chief's daughter wore her hair long on every part of the head, and braided the side strands over the ears.

The female attendants upon the daughter of a chief did not allow her to [261]
eat too much. This tapu was enforced to prevent the overdevelopment of [826]
her abdominal region.

When a chief's daughter ate or sat in her house, she was surrounded 622
by a mat screen and seated on a high cushion (*fakamolu*) composed of mats 554
and soft tapa. The purpose of the soft cushion was to keep the skin of her 285
upper legs and buttocks soft and smooth, unblemished by any hard thickness 516
or marks that might result from sitting on a hard surface.

A treatment applied only to the daughters of high chiefs is called *fakatafa*. 622
After an evening bath and oiling from head to feet, the girl's legs were 513
tied together just above the knees with a piece of fine soft tapa, and she was 516
834
554

[Toku, Fonualei, and Kao Islands]

soil. The population of Fonualei became so large and permanent that a 162
church was erected there. The maximum figures for the two islands were 311
one hundred souls on each in the time of the chief Abraham Tangaloa.
However, the fertile land of Fonualei became a desert waste with the volcanic [731]
eruption of 1846. The people removed to Toku in time to avoid loss of life. 162
Later the entire Toku population was moved to the Vavau group proper 166
by the missionaries, for convenience in church attendance. Their descen- [797]
dants seem to reside principally at Utulei, Pangaimotu Island.

The Toku people were political exiles from Haamea in the central dis- 727
trict of Tongatabu. The people of Haamea fought the Hihifo people dur- 166
ing the reign of the Tui Kanokupolu Mataeletuapiko and were overcome. 175
They fled to Toku under the leadership of the Haamea chiefs Tukutukuholoipangai, Ofakehokomaikaetau, and a third chief. Talafaiva, daughter of the Tui Haa Takalaua and (later?) wife of the Tui Tonga Uluakimata I
(Telea) was with them. The refugees were all of the Haa Takalaua and it [669]
seems likely that the struggle between Haamea and Hihifo was but a part of the Tui Kanokupolu's effort to eclipse the Tui Haa Takalaua. It is said that people from Makave in Vavau went to Toku to help the chiefs from Haamea. When the Haamea refugees arrived at Toku they found Niuatoputapu people in possession. These were ordered to leave and did so peaceably. This settlement of people from Haamea must have occurred in the seventeenth century if the references to Mataeletuapiko and Talafaiva are correct.

The son of one of the refugee chiefs from Haamea became the ruler of the Toku people under the title of Tangaloa. The last Tangaloa was Abraham Tangaloa of Utulei, Pangaimotu Island. The Tui Kanokupolu appointed the Tangaloa. The second Tangaloa bore the personal name of Katainatoa.

The god of the Toku people was incarnate in the *tukuhali* or sea snake, 776
I could not learn the name of the god or the title of the priest. The Toku 825
incarnation of the god fell into a well. The well was in consequence filled 823
and a new one dug for use.

Tradition names the top of Kao Island, Haapai, as the site of a village, 823
a statement which is pure fiction, as I learned by climbing to the summit, [173]
3380 feet above sea level. A woman there one day said she was going for [361]
a walk. She intended to visit one of the coral islands which seemed to lie so close below that one could step over to it. She threw down her bundle of mats, then followed it, and was dashed to pieces on the rocks below. This tale is evidently told to illustrate the extreme steepness of Kao.

The ancient settlement on Kao was near the shore, not at the summit. 361
The shore settlement was probably on the northwestern side, nearest Tofua.

[Tofua, Late, and Ata Islands]

Early voyagers speak of Tofua as inhabited. An old woman, living on 162
Kotu Island in 1920, was the last inhabitant of Tofua. She was removed 888
by force by her relatives, who feared she was becoming too old to care for 602
herself and that the dogs might eat her if she became disabled. 825

Late Island, a volcanic cone lying west of the coralline Vavau group, 162
was formerly inhabited. The Late people and their descendants now live [133]
on Hunga Island in the Vavau group. Late served at times as a place of [166]
refuge for political exiles. Fukofuka, a Vavau chief, who incurred the dis- [727]
favor of a great Vavau chief, presumably Ulukalala, fled there and sought
in vain to oppose the troops sent for him.

The people of Late seem to have had a quarrel of long standing with 628
the people of Moungaone Island, in Haapai, for each group seems to have
attacked the other at times. The fortress of Amaka on Late was built for [712]
refuge against Moungaone raids. The chief of Late bore the title of Toto- [622]
late. There is one at present. He was appointed by the Tui Kanokupolu.

ATA ISLAND

My data as to the settling of outlying islands are by far the fullest 131
for Ata Island, lying about ninety miles south of Tongatabu and in latitude
22° 20′, almost at the tropic of Capricorn. Like Toku, Ata was a haven of [166]
safety for the certain political refugees. [727]

Ata was discovered and named Pylstaarts by Tasman in January, 1643, 177
while he was voyaging northward from New Zealand to Tonga. No mention 175
is made of signs of inhabitants and presumably it was not then occupied. [162]
Tongan tradition makes the peopling somewhat later. [175]

By 1791 Ata was inhabited. Thomson (21), discussing the voyage 175
of Captain Edwards in H. M. S. *Pandora*, says: "Running southward, he 162
made Pylstaarts, at that time inhabited by Tongan castaways, and the fact that
he did not stop to examine it, although he saw by the smoke that it was in-
habited. . . ."

In the Voyage of the Duff (65, 66), Ata is mentioned as uninhab-
ited, which would seem to be a mistake since it was already occupied in
1791. Speaking of the Spanish discoverer Fran. Ant. Maurelle who passed
in March, 1781, the Voyage of the Duff says: "He also saw the high unin- [131]
habited spot, discovered and named Pylstaarts island by Tasman, in latitude
22° 22′, 175° 59′ west longitude. This he called La Sola."

West (62, p. 271) relates the following story about the peopling of 166
Ata: 173

> . . . strange tales are told of one of their chiefs, called Uhila, whose cannibal pro- 266
> pensities had been intensified by a long residence in Fiji. This chief resided at Nomuka;
> but he was in the habit of making sudden descents upon different islands, for the pur-
> pose of clubbing and kidnapping any of the inhabitants he could lay hold of, with whose

[Niuatoputapu Island]

accorded its inhabitants by the Tui Tonga Kauulufonua I, that they should 103
push away the boats of the Tongans, and not let them land. In Nukualofa, 123
at the time of my sojourn there, resided Maatu, the hereditary ruler of
Niuatoputapu and virtually king thereof. An opportunity was therefore
afforded of obtaining some information concerning that group.

Niuatoputapu was discovered on May 10, 1616, by the Dutch explorers 177
Schouten and Lemaire. It thus constitutes the earliest discovered portion 175
of the Tongan Archipelago. Basil Thomson (54, pp. 398, 399) gives an
account of the visit of Schouten and Lemaire. Wallis visited Niuatoputapu
on August 13, 1767. Nails, which he left there, were later found in the
possession of the Tui Tonga Pau by Captain Cook a few years later.

Niuatoputapu group comprises two islands, Niuatoputapu or Keppel 133
which rises to an altitude of 350 feet, and the volcanic cone of Tafahi or
Boscawen which is two thousand feet high. These islands are located in 131
latitude 16° south.

The Maatu whom I interviewed claimed to be the tenth ruler of the 634
line, the first ruler bearing the title of Latu, the title which Schouten and 622
Lemaire give for the ruler of Niuatoputapu. The following is the king 173
list as given by the Maatu of 1921. [123]

1. Latumailangi (chief from heaven) or Puakatefisi (pig from Fisi, a place on 634
Tafahi Island). Pigs seem to be especially associated with Tafahi Island from which 622
Puakatefisi came, for the people of the neighboring Niuatoputapu say of Tafahi, when 173
the clouds are around its summit, that the gods must be cooking pigs, for there is
the smoke. 551

2. Puakailakelo, son of 1. His name means "pig with yellow spots." It was he [826]
who is said to have changed the title from Latu to Maatu. The traditional reason [776]
for the change is as follows: Lavelua, the ruler of Uvea, came on a visit to Niuatoputapu, bringing with him his shell fishhook. In the dialect of Niuatoputapu such a fish hook is called *pa*. In the Uvean dialect it was called *utumaatu*. Latu fancied the name of the fish hook so the two kings traded fish-hook names. In Uvea such a fish hook was henceforth to be called *pa* and in Niuatoputapu it was to be called *utumaatu*. The ruler of the latter island then adopted the title of Maatu for himself and successors, discarding the older term Latu. In Uvea the old term *utumaatu* for fish hook became tapu. The Tamaha's genealogies have the following to say about Puakailakelo and his brother Pungalcaitafola:

> There were two brothers, Pungakaitafola and Puakailakelo. Pungakaitafola was Maatu, but on account of his sickness (nose trouble) he allowed his younger brother Puakailakelo to take the title, and he became Maatu.
>
> A boat arrived from Niuafoou with two women, who were passengers, by name of Hekuau and Siulolovao; the latter was the child of Valamotu (daughter of Fusitua and Fotofili Alofi). Puakailakelo courted Hekuau, but she refused him as she had already a sweetheart at Niuafoou (Mailelatamai), and Siulolovao then accepted the courtship of Puakailakelo. Before Siulolovao had any children she adopted a little girl named Fataimoamanu as her first child to Puakailakelo. Fataimoamanu was the daughter of Alokuoulu the brother of Siulolovao.

upon is upon the plan of Mahommed's very brothel. Pulotu Tete, Pulotu Akaaka, 775
and Pulotu Tuumau are the names of the Tonguese three heavens. 772

Vaiola (The-water-of-life) is believed to be in Pulotu. The following 775
brief note, translated by Beatrice Shirley Baker from a manuscript written 772
in Tongan by Rachel Tonga, refers to it: 823

> It is said in the traditions that there is a country in which there is a fountain called Vaiola and the nature of this water is healing. If a sick person washes in it, he comes up healed. If a leper bathes in it he will be clean; if an old man he becomes young, the blind see, those afflicted with elephantiasis become well, the deaf hear, the dumb speak. People afflicted with any sickness need only plunge into the water to become well. Anciently the people longed night and day to do so, but it was not known where the water was situated. Some said it was at Pulotu, the residence of the gods, and some said that it was at the lower Fiji islands.

DEITIES

The gods seem to have been considered as formless spirits (19, vol. 1, 776
p. 405) who might become incarnate in any shape they desired. Thus, the 776
god Taufa might become incarnate in his priest Kautae, in a shark, or in a 825
gecko (*moko*). Similarly, the deity Fehuluni might appear either as a man
or as a woman; and the goddesses Sisi and Faingaa might appear either as
herons or as women. As a matter of fact the forms in which gods did 776
appear seem to be strictly limited in number.

The term *fakamalanga* is applied to the god of one's mother, supposed to be kind in nature. The term also means intercessor. The word *ka* means to treat the gods with contempt.

Belief in the gods is by no means dead today in Tonga. Good Christians 795
occasionally see, or are afflicted by, the ancient deities. Even myths concerning 776
the ancient gods are still in process of creation. For instance, in [178]
Lapaha is a cylindrical stone called Levulevukefu, which in Christian times
has been moved from its original position in the center of the Tui Tonga's
gateway to its present position on the west side of the main north and south
street of Lapaha. The fact of its removal is known, yet a story is current
that it was thrown from Eua Island to its present position by Maui.

Near Maufanga, Tongatabu, is a cave called Anapusi (Cat-cave), because 825
some miraculous owls living there are said to have the power of assuming
the form of cats at will. This, no doubt, is an idea that does not antedate
the introduction of cats.

The mound called Tangata Haamea, built at Feletoa, Vavau, by the present 776
Ulukalala for his son Tangata Haamea, who in 1921 was a clerk in the 778
premier's office in Nukualofa, is constructed of stones taken from the platform
(*paepae*) of an ancient god-house. The stones are supposed, as a result of

their origin, to be haunted by "devils," and the people of the neighborhood 776
avoid passing the mound in the dark. 778

Besides manifesting themselves through priests or priestesses, the gods 776
appeared also in animal form. The animal was called the *vaka* (boat) of the 825
god, and the priest the *taula otua* (anchor of the god). Needless to say, it 784
was forbidden for the worshipper of a god to eat the animal in which the god
might become incarnate. The journal of missionary Watkin (61) mentions [753]
a person "who was then very ill, because he had eaten the god from which
the tribe had sprung and to which they paid divine honors, the *feke* or
catfish."

All of the gods are today called *tevolo*, which is the Tongan rendering of 776
English "devil." Some informants, however, insist that *tevolo* is an old 196
Tongan word, and the late chief Maatu of Niuatoputapu gave an interesting
etymology which would appear to be a rationalization. He analyzed [793]
tevolo as *te* "to bring out," and *volo* "salivary glands," referring to the
frothing at the mouth on the part of the inspired priest. The proper ancient 776
term for a god seems to be *otua*. The term *fili* was given by one informant as 192
a synonym, as was also *puloa*. The generic term *faahikehe* denotes gods,
spirits, ghosts, and apparently priests. It means literally "different side," or
"different kind," referring to the different endowment of the *faahikehe* as
compared with normal human beings. Another term for gods was *taulamua*,
based on the term *taula* (anchor) which occurs in the word for priest.

The widespread Polynesian gods, Tu, Tane, and Lono, appear to have 776
been unknown in Tonga. Tangaloa was well known, and existed in several [171]
forms, always, however, as a sky god rather than a sea god. There appear [778]
to have been no temples or priests dedicated to Tangaloa. His rôle in the [793]
creation of solid land and man is well exemplified in Tongan mythology. [773]

Although the Tui Tonga and the Tamaha were believed to approach the [643]
gods in essence, nevertheless they were human, from the Tongan's standpoint, [782]
inasmuch as they prayed to the gods when ill and their relatives sacrificed
their little fingers for them. However, even Tangaloa the Lord of Heaven
seems to be conceived of as dying, for in one myth the words are put into
his mouth: "The funeral of the Tui Tonga shall be as my own funeral"
(26, p. 42). On the other hand, the leper Fakailoatonga, who ordered him- [164]
self buried alive, was deified and worshipped. According to Farmer (23, [762] [793]
p. 129), the god of the Tui Tonga was Hikuleo, for whom the Tui Tonga [643]
acted as priest or intermediary, the offerings of the great Inasi ceremony
being destined for Hikuleo. I could obtain no evidence that the deceased [643]
Tui Tonga were worshiped, although offerings were placed at their tombs [769]
(p. 76).

Although I have succeeded in adding a few unrecorded gods to the Tongan pantheon, there are certain deities, notably the goddess Kallafootonga

> It happened to be the sacred town of Ma Fanga, which, being the supposed abode 776
> of their deities, and of the souls of their ancestors and deceased friends, has always 778
> from time immemorial been considered neutral ground, and as such respected in their
> most bloody wars. It is governed by the high-priest of the island, who guards the [793]
> tombs of the deceased princes, presides at the annual sacrifices, and receives the first-fruits offered at the shrine of their deities.

Tui Haa Fakafanua is one of the deities who is still regarded as existent
in Tonga. The sacred pool of the god is located near the present convent
in Maufanga. If a woman bathes alone in this pool, and while bathing sees [825]
a gecko, she believes that the god has entered her and death is the result. [763]
Frequently when a girl dies it is said that the god has caused her death, [763]
whether or not she has bathed in the god's pool. This god is also believed
to have manifested himself at times on Eua Island. A small, clear stream
called Malimaliloto is sacred to this god. A man who dwelt beside the stream
was made very handsome by the god, who himself is said to appear sometimes
as a handsome man in order to have his way with some woman. In Lifuka, 776
Haapai, the priest of the god dwelt in a house on the site of the god's temple. 778
He possessed the power of prophecy and whatever he foretold came to pass. 793
In the priest's house was a room formed of tapa screens. If people came to [787]
consult the priest he told them to wait for the god. After waiting inside the [825]
house for a while, a gecko usually put in its appearance somewhere in the
house and was regarded as the manifestation of the god. Should relatives
of a very sick man appeal to the god, the appearance of the gecko was
regarded as a favorable omen for the man's recovery, its non-appearance
indicating that the god did not wish the patient to live. Usually the priest
was hidden behind the tapa screen when the gecko appeared. When the priest [787]
became possessed by the god he lay down and shook violently. After the
spasm of trembling was over he would sit up and tell the waiting people the
wishes of the god. It is said this priest talked in a natural tone of voice.
This particular priest was murdered by Taufaahau, afterwards King George I.
Taufaahau had warned the priest to cease his practice, but he did not do so.
Taufaahau had his people bring kava to the house of the god. There the
kava ring was formed and the brew served. Taufaahau served the priest.
As he threw back his head to drink, Taufaahau struck him on the neck with
his fist and killed him. Thereafter the adherents of the god became Christian. [797]

Three informants of Faleloa, and one of Fotua, Foa Island, Haapai, 776
related stories about the sanctuary of Tui Haa Fakafanua at that place. 778
The god's house was said to be a long house, hence the origin of the name
Faleloa for the modern village. As usual, the manifestation of the god at [825]
this sanctuary was through the medium of a gecko. The god appeared in or [793]
was represented (*fakafofonga*) by a woman named Nganga, according to the
Faleloa informants; by a priest named Makaui according to the Fotua informanT.

mant. A joint of the little finger of some close relative of a sick person was 776
sacrificed as an offering to the god and was believed to result in the patient's 778
restoration to health. As in Tongatabu the presence of the gecko indicated [782]
to the supplicants that the god had appeared. At this sanctuary there was a [825]
white stone called Makaui (Calling-stone), thus having the same name as the 776
priest at the god's sanctuary in Maufanga. It is said that when the god 778 823
desired to assemble people he beat upon this stone and people would come.
This statement probably means that the priest beat upon this stone, for [793]
Tongans seem not to discriminate often in their statements between the
priest and the god, which seems natural enough according to the belief that
the priest becomes the embodiment of the god. It is said that when Taufaahau was planning to come to Haapai from Tongatabu to destroy the
temples of the gods, the stone Makaui gave warning of this while Taufaahau
was yet in Tongatabu. The stone Makaui is reported to be buried in a vault
in the cemetery at the beach in Faleloa, but just which vault it is not known.

The account of the Fotua informant (Mesake Lomu) concerning Tui Haa 776
Fakafanua's establishment at Faleloa differs in certain details from the 778
accounts of the Faleloa informants, and makes Makaui the priest, and not
the stone.

> Tui Haa Fakafanua had a temple in Faleloa in the island Foa, Haapai group. 776
> His priest there was named Makaui. The incarnation of the god was the gecko [778]
> (*moko*), to which the people prayed. Should any person be ill, a finger of another [793]
> person would be amputated and taken to Tui Haa Fakafanua. [825]
>
> The god had two other incarnations, namely the man-eating shark *tenifa*, also [782]
> variously called mud shark and tiger shark, and the ordinary shark, *anga*. Should
> anyone desire to tapu his garden (plantation) he would make a wooden image of the 776
> man-eating shark and place it in the garden. If anyone stole from that garden and 825
> later went into the sea, he would be eaten by a shark. In Tui Haa Fakafanua's temple 784
> there was a basket in which was a whale's tooth and turmeric.
>
> Makaui, the priest of the god, owned a double sailing vessel (*kalia*) called the 776
> Fekitaki, which, when not in use, was kept covered with coconut-leaf mats. A man 793
> named Fangu, from Uvea stole the mats and thus exposed the vessel to the sun. [801]
> When Makaui arrived the vessel had been much damaged by exposure. So Makaui
> stood at the water's edge and called out to Tui Haa Fakafanua, "Thy vessel has
> had mischief done unto it. Search for the perpetrator." Shortly afterwards the
> thief Fangu bathed in the sea. Then he sat on the dry sand and made himself some
> kava. While so doing a huge man-eating shark bit and ate him.
>
> Tui Haa Fakafanua appears to have had also a god house and a priest on the [778]
> island of Nomuka, Haapai. It is said that the god made people "silly" who came to [787]
> consult him.

McKern (42) excavated on Pangaimotu Island, near Tongatabu, a mound 776
which was formerly the site of a temple to Tui Haa Fakafanua. Takai, the 778
chief of Pea, is said to have lived for a time on Pangaimotu early in the [772]
nineteenth century, but declined to build his house on this site, which was [789]
evidently then deserted, even though it was a fine high and dry location. His

objection was that it had been the place of a god's house. Girls of Pangai- 776
motu were warned not to bathe on the beach in front of this site lest the god 778 784
steal them away. A girl thus ravished by the god either died shortly there- [515]
after, or was never seen again. [833]
[763]

HINA

The moon is regarded as the abode of Hina, the goddess of beauty and 776
consort of the handsome god Sinilau. It is said that in the full moon, Hina 821
can be seen seated under an *ovava* tree beating tapa on a tapa board (*tutua*). One informant mentioned a moon god named Mahina, which is also the designation of the physical moon itself and also of the months. The term *hinehina* refers to the whiteness of moonlight. The sun seems also to have been anthropomorphised, for he is characterized as the father of certain heroes (26, p. 111). There were, however, no temples to either the sun or [778]
the moon, nor were there any priests so far as I could learn. [793]

TAUFA

The full name of the deity Taufa is Taufaitahi or Taufa of-the-sea. 776
His principal shrine seems to have been at Tatakamotonga, in Mua, the capital 778
of Tongatabu. The temple, called Kikiloi, was located on the tract Ahau. This temple was not different from any ordinary Tongan house. There was also a temple of this god in the tract called Ahau in the present village of Hihifo, Lifuka Island, Haapai. In both Haapai and Tongatabu the god 776
was believed to appear in the form of a white man-eating shark (*tenifa*). 825
Should a *tenifa* kill anyone, the people considered that the god was angry and [782]
proceeded to present kava and other things to propitiate him. In Lifuka, the descendants of the former shark worshippers still live in the tract called Ahau. The head of the family today is David Ti.

Taufaitahi bears the distinction of having been the patron god of Tau- 776
faahau, later King George I. 643
755

Taufaahau was originally called as a small boy Ngininginiofolanga. His health was poor, so his parents brought him from Haapai to Tongatabu, taking him to the chief Vaea of Houma and to Maafutukuiaulahi of Vaini, whose daughter, Hoamofaleono, was Taufaahau's mother. Moreover, in that time there was a famine in Haapai. Vaea and [778]
Maafu took the boy to the temple of Taufaitahi at Mua and besought Kautae the
priest to plead for him. They carried the boy into the god's house and then they [793]
brought a coconut to Kautae who spun it. When the coconut stopped, the eyes [787]
pointed skyward (out of the door of the house) and the sickness left the boy. If the coconut had pointed otherwise the boy would have died. The cause of the boy's sickness was unknown. The god was in the priest Kautae at the time of the cure. At 776
the curing Kautae, while inspired, said to Taufaahau's family: "I'm going to cure 793
him. I think he is better. I think I can make him better. If I can't you'd better 787
take him to another god. I'll spin the coconut to see if he will get better." 755

After spinning the coconut, Kautae cracked it and then sprinkled everyone with 776
coconut water. This was to make the sickness leave Taufaahau. After the god had 755
restored the boy to health, Kautae changed his name from Ngininginiofolanga to Taufaahau. 643
[553]

Any chief sick a long while might be brought before Kautae, with such presents
as roast pig and kava. The visitors sat very quietly while the god entered Kautae. 776
The coming of the god was shown by Kautae's looking "like a fool." When the god 793
entered Kautae he was seated. [The informant, the Kautae of 1921, had seen his father 755
thus possessed.] Afterwards Kautae spun the coconut to determine if the person would 787
live. Then kava was made for the god. The kava was drunk by the people, but sea [276]
water brought in a coconut vessel was given to the god through his representative [415]
Kautae. The kava was served in banana leaf cups, as was the salt water. These, together
with the bowl and strainer were brought by Fakaotoota, the priest's attendant
who was regularly appointed by Kautae. These were used anciently in place of coconut [415]
shells. Salt water did not make Kautae sick. The god was still in Kautae when
he drank salt water. Kautae shook all over when the god was in him. The movement
of the body was an up-and-down trembling, arms flexed and shaking, head bowed
slightly, eyes staring.

The succession to the priestly office of Kautae seems to have been as 793
follows: (5) the incumbent of 1921; (4) the incumbent's father; (3) the 428
incumbent's father's father's brother's son; (2) the incumbent's father's
father's brother; (1) the incumbent's father's father.

The present Kautae said that, when a new priest was appointed at the 793
death of the old one, the god enters the new priest, even though the new 776
priest was only an appointee of the chief or of the king. The present Kautae, 287
who is a Christian, has never felt as though the god were going to enter him. [795]
His son, who will probably succeed to the title, is called Halafaiafenga.

There are two tales about an alleged tomb of the god Taufaitahi which 776
lies beneath the sea. One version places this tomb between Vavau and
Niuatoputapu. It is said that in looking through the waters from a boat one
can see the white tomb (*faitoka*) and usually near it Taufaitahi himself in the
form of a white shark. The other tale attributes the tomb to the bay of
Mua in the lagoon of Tongatabu, and between the island of Moungatapu and
the place called Nahafu. It cannot be seen from the surface of the water
on account of the mud, but by diving the alleged grave can be seen, a
stone surrounded by white sand; it is called Muliafanini. The god himself
is said to have dubbed this submarine spot his grave.

A tale refers to the seizing of a man named Fatuimoana by the shark god 776
Taufaitahi: 825
773

A number of people were going to the island of Motutapu, Tongatabu, one day [521]
to attend games of playing in the surf (*fanifo*). The shark seized Fatuimoana by the
arm when he dived and dragged him beneath the water. The people could look down
and see the victim being held by the great shark. The priest of the god was sent for
and came in the boat. He dived down and brought the drowned Fatuimoana to the
surface. The body of the victim was taken to the Hahake district in Tongatabu and [782]
the inferior relatives of Fatuimoana had their little fingers cut off and brought as
offerings to Kautae who was begged to restore Fatuimoana to life, but all in vain.

Another tale refers to the temple of Taufaitahi in Tatakamotonga, Tonga- 776
tabu, serving as a sanctuary (*fale hufanga*) for the chief Niukapu who was 773
being pursued by Taufaahau (later King George I): 778

> Taufaahau had pursued the chief Niukapu with the intent of killing him. The fugitive had gone to various houses of sanctuary, of which there were three. Two of these leaked badly (that is, fugitives were not safe in them), but Kautae's was tight (safe). Kautae's was the one to which the hunted Niukapu now bent his steps. Before his arrival, however, Taufaahau issued instructions that Niukapu be carefully watched, but not attacked. The watch was set. Niukapu's friends, however, advised him to carry several spears into the sacred enclosure, so that the watchers would suppose that he was a person belonging to the place. The ruse worked and Niukapu approached the enclosure without molestation and passed through the gateway.
>
> When it was seen that Niukapu had safely entered the sanctuary, Taufaahau gave 776
> orders that someone's finger be amputated. This was done and the finger presented to 773
> the god as an offering. Kautae's finger was then cut off as a counter-offering and 778
> sent to Taufaahau, who then slaughtered a man and had the body together with goods 782
> (*koloa*) carried to Kautae, the priest of the god. At this Kautae wept, because it
> meant that Niukapu must be surrendered. However, Kautae's daughter interposed,
> saying: "Weep not. Slay me instead, so that Niukapu will be free." She was immediately killed and carried to Taufaahau. That is how Niukapu escaped. It was
> said that in slaying the girl Kautae had made virtually an offering of his own
> life (*monava*). It was said of priests that it was better for them to die than that [793]
> anyone seeking sanctuary should perish. Niukapu in gratitude told Kautae to take his
> pick of his lands, but Kautae merely asked for Niukapu's kava and got it. When Niukapu's kava is called, Kautae can now claim it and seems often to do so.

Kautae, the present priest of the god, bore the name of Teukitahi before 776
his appointment by the Prince Consort Tungi. He belongs to the Haa Moheofo 793
or lineage of the Tui Kanokupolu. The present Kautae is a Roman Catholic [795]
and, of course, does not exercise his priestly functions as did his predecessors. He was more than eighty years of age when I interviewed him. He emphasized that Taufaitahi was not a man who had died and had been deified like Fakailoatonga, but that Taufaitahi was a spirit from Pulotu; that the god himself is without form and without appearance, purely a spirit (*foahikehe*), who travels from Pulotu to Tonga in a spirit boat (*vakaloa*), which is tied at Vakafaioho, an inlet at Nahafu, near Mua. Then, he said, the god enters his priest, but never appears ashore in any form other than Kautae; at sea the god may enter a *tenifa* (shark).

This conception of Taufaitahi seems to fit the general Tongan idea as to the nature of the gods, in considering them intangible, invisible, formless
spirits. Taufaitahi differs from certain other shark gods in being regarded 776
as never having been a human being. Tui Tofua, another deity, incarnate 825
also in the *tenifa*, or man-eating shark, is said once to have been a living person who was transformed into a shark. In the same way, Seketoa, the fish god of Niuatoputapu, was also once a human being who proceeded to drown himself and became a fish.

[Eua Island]

that the two deities may be connected or perhaps identical. This opinion was expressed by the informant Rose Fatafehi, the son's daughter of the Tui Tonga Laufilitonga. 776

A purely local deity is a cannibal god reputed to have dwelt in a cave called Anapoutaha, near Maufanga, Tongatabu. [266]

DEITIES OF EUA ISLAND

The following scraps of information which were received about the deities of Eua Island supplement the information Collocott has already presented:

Although there is a certain amount of localization of gods in Eua, there seem not to have been gods for each district. The god or goddess Tafakula seems to have been generally worshipped and was appealed to for favorable seasons for the crops. The origin of this deity is set forth by Collocott (9, pp. 236, 237). He regards the deity as a female. A modern Eua informant [825]
knew of no sacred animal for Tafakula; she manifested herself only through [793]
a priest. Reference is often made to Tafakula in the stories concerning the 823
origin of geographic features (26, p. 88). Connected with this deity was a 776
great axe-shaped rock in Eua called Kitekihaamoa (visible to Samoa). The
Samoans are said to have been displeased at the visibility of this rock from 173
their country so they came and burnt it, and it fell down in strata from which 823
it was easy for people to take pieces from which to make axes. The base of this rock is said to be still visible on the weather shore of Eua and is called Toa Makahunu. It is said to vary in color, being in part white, yellow, red, and black. Tafakula was also known in Haapai and Vavau. 776

Another deity of Eua Island was Lefelefevalu whose house stood on a mound beside the road from Tufuvai to Haatua. The mound is said to be 776
the goddess transformed. She was a *taupoou* (virgin). Two lovers (*manaia*) 773
tried to approach her during the night but were unable to reach her before 823
daybreak, and were transformed into two smaller mounds which are to be seen to-day on the ridge back of the mound Lefelefevalu. The two lovers were called Ponahiva and Fasikiato, names which are applied to the two mounds. It is said that dawn broke when the two had reached the tract called Fakaahuahu (near the present race course).

[539]

Ko Ponahiva mo Fasikiato,	Here are Ponahiva and Fasikiato,
Lefelefevalu tu'u mei lalo.	Lefelefevalu stands below.
Ko Kopoka api kou kumia ngako,	Kopoka is the tract where is eaten the fat rat,
Tapuhia moe luo ki toke,	Tapuhia is the place of the hole of the eel,
Kokafa e api kai tole.	Kokafa is the tract where vagina is eaten.

The names Lefelefevalu and Ponahiva are said to refer respectively to eight female organs and nine male organs.

[Lifuka Island]

South of the mound Lefelefevalu is a stone called Angangamofae, which 776
is said to be natural in formation but which looks like a fish having the head 773
of a stingray (*fai*) and the tail of a shark (*anga*). 823

DEITIES OF LIFUKA ISLAND

Aloalo seems to have been an important Haapai god with his sanctuary 776
on the tract Fanganonu in Pangai, Lifuka Island. He seems to have been 778
especially a weather god and was also consulted concerning future events. [821]

The temple of the god was a Tongan house, one end of which was screened off with
cane (*kaho*). The god was represented by a whale's tooth (*lei*) which was kept in
this compartment covered by a fine mat (*kie*). "He stayed alone like a king and no
one was with him." People who came to consult the god waited outside the house.
They brought with them presents of food which they left in the anteroom of the house 776
just within the entrance, but away from the compartment where the god dwelt. Food 778
that was left by departing visitors would be found to have entirely disappeared upon 782
their return and this was true even if the food was a hundred pound pig.

If people planned to voyage from Haapai to Tongatabu they brought food to Aloalo 776
and inquired as to the most propitious time for setting sail. The god would tell them 787
whether they should leave immediately or later, in order to enjoy good weather all of 484
the way. He might also instruct the voyagers as to the most propitious time to return [782]
from Tongatabu. If they failed to regard his instructions they were likely to meet
with mishap.

The "boat" of the god was the white tern (*tala*). When people went shark fishing 776
they followed the god's bird so they might be led to a good fishing ground. The bird 825
of the god seems to have been a captive white tern with a string tied to its foot. Today 226
the white tern is still used as an indicator of good fishing grounds.

The god manifested himself by causing the whale's tooth to move or shake. How- 776
ever, prior to the shaking, a yellow butterfly, appearing at the front door of the god's 825
house, indicated that the deity would shortly appear in the whale's tooth. The appear-
ance of the yellow butterfly was to inform the priest of the god's impending visit. The [782]
people in general were apprised and would come to pray on such an occasion, particu-
larly those people who had illness. It is said that the butterfly was not the god himself,
but merely the messenger of the god.

Aloalo not only predicted the weather but he could also govern it, for example, 776
being able to stop excessive rains when prayed to do so by the people. Aloalo's priest 821
was called Vavanga (literally "to know everything"). He served as intermediary be-
tween the supplicants and the god. After the appearance of the yellow butterfly and [793]
the movements of the whale's tooth the god entered the priest, who would be convulsed [787]
by trembling. While in this state he delivered the message of the god to the people.
The priest when inspired was seated, not reclining. The district in which the tract
of the god was located was called Ahau, a name which refers to the ruling chief.

The daughter's son of the last priest Vavanga was living at the site in 793
1920, and my informant was himself the son's son of Vavanga. There was 115
another sanctuary of Aloalo near the northern end of Lifuka Island at the 778
village of Holopeka.

Aloalo went the same way as the rest of the Haapai gods when Taufaahau 776
set out to destroy them. The priest of the god fled, however, so that he 797
escaped the fate of other priests and priestesses who were put to death by 798
Taufaahau. 793

[Lifuka Island]

wants. Were the god complaisant to a sick person, he would be taken into Melaia's 776
house, who would then gently massage the patient and he would recover. When 778
people came to make supplication to the god they would wreathe themselves about the 782
neck with *ifi* (chestnut) leaves and veil themselves with white tapa. Loud talking and [757]
noise were strictly forbidden close to the god's premises in Holopeka. [784]

Ngaohaa was also the principal deity of Fonoifua Island. The chief 776
Taifonoifua, as well as Tui Afitu, was under the protection of this god, who 793
manifested himself only through his priestess, a woman named Fipe. The [825]
god Ngaohaa was probably represented in the shellfish *pava,* like certain
other gods who had fish or shellfish as their representatives. Pava was also [778]
the name of the house or holy place of Ngaohaa, located on the tract Tave.
As usual the presence of the god became manifest by the trembling of the [787]
priestess, who was usually in a reclining position when the god entered her.
Old informants who knew the last priestess said that she was an old woman.
Although the deity became manifest in a priestess, he was nevertheless conceived of as a god, not a goddess. The information is not altogether clear
as to whether the name Ngaohaa refers only to the god or also to the family
to which the priestess Fipe belonged. This family is of matapule rank and
some members of it are now living on Oua Island.

Finger sacrifices to this god were resorted to in trouble or sickness. The 776
finger joints cut off were taken to the priestess, who pronounced the will 782
of the god in the matter which was pending. Voyagers sailing from Haapai 776
to Tongatabu, being delayed at Nomuka Island for weeks on account of 484
head winds, went to Fonoifua to beseech the aid of the god Ngaohaa for 782
favorable winds. It is said no offerings were made, but this hardly seems
believable. The premises of the god on Fonoifua comprised a Tongan 776
house of ordinary type, surrounded by a fence of living *puko* stakes such 778
as are to be seen commonly in Tonga to-day. This fence was built and 793
kept in repair by the Fonoifua people, who guarded it, in order that no [417]
harm might befall the priestess. The house itself was on a mound and was [794]
occupied only by the priestess. The rest of her family are said to have
dwelt in other houses within the fence.

A god named Uluenga (Head-covered-with-turmeric) had a house at 776
Holopeka, Lifuka Island. The following information about Uluenga was 778
imparted by Ana Manu of Holopeka:

> The priest of the god was named Havea. The shrine (*fakafaanga*) was a basket [793]
> containing three articles, namely, a throwing club, a whale's tooth, and a *paango lafo*
> (round portion of bottom of the coconut shell used in a game something like deck
> billiards). These articles were wrapped in white tapa, which was smeared with turmeric. The god had his house on the premises called Haalupo. The holy place or
> temple was known as Uhaimahu (Rain-in-time-of-plenty). It was not permissible for
> people to enter into the holy place. Also loud talking was prohibited in the god's [784]
> premises.

through the priest, would reply, "Very well, you may prepare for rain. Fix the leaky 776
roofs, bring food, and prepare everything for the rain. In four or five days it must 793
rain." On one particular occasion the sixth day dawned without a cloud in the sky, 787
but by three o'clock in the afternoon the rain clouds had assembled and the rain had
begun. The rain lasted for the period which the god had predicted. The Fotuhaa 821
people always followed this procedure whenever they wished rain.

When the missionaries were about to come to Fotuhaa, the god informed the peo- 776
ple that he was going to leave and to take up his residence on the islands of Kao and [797]
Tofua. He knew in advance of the coming of the missionaries. The informant, a
Fotuhaa man, seemed to consider the god and the priest as practically identical. At [793]
least he designated both by the term *taula tevolo*.

This same mode of identifying priest and god was common to most all of [793]
the informants I interviewed concerning the gods.

DEITIES OF HAANO ISLAND

The god of Tui Haa Ngana, the ruler of Haano Island, was called Feinga Uteo (To-earnestly-desire-sugar-cane). Nothing was learned about the attributes or functions of this god. The sanctuary of Hikuleo on this island has been discussed earlier.

Another god of Haano, and one quite prominent also in Tongatabu Island, was Haele Feke.

The sanctuary of this god in Haano was located on the tract which was owned by [778]
the Tui Kanokupolu and was under the care of the matapule Kioa. Haele Feke was [787]
thought to know beforehand what was about to occur. The coming of the god was
indicated by an octopus (*feke*) coming from the sea to the tract where the priest lived. 776
When an octopus thus came, the Tui Kanokupolu's matapule Kioa brought tapa and 825
coconut leaf mats (*takapau*). The mats were placed on the ground and the tapa on top
of them, so that the incarnation of the god might rest upon them. The octopus in
which the god became incarnate might be either a white or a brown octopus. The [793]
priest of the god was himself named Feke (Octopus). After the message of the god
had been delivered the priest took the octopus from the pile of tapa to the water. The 776
coming ashore of the octopus was regarded as a harbinger of coming events and such a 787
visit was followed by some anxiety on the part of the people. On one occasion a num-
ber of sick people died a few days after the visit of the god. It was then believed that [763]
the visit was ominous of their forthcoming death. It is said that the house of the [793]
priest was half a mile from the beach and on a site called Fotuamua. It seems incon-
ceivable that an octopus could travel such a distance overland. It would seem more
likely that he was received at the beach by the priest. The Tongan informant, from
whom the above information was obtained, was unable to say whether the god Haele
Feke was male or female.

DEITIES OF MOUNGAONE ISLAND

There were two brother gods in Moungaone. Moso was the name of the elder, 776
Pusipapanga the younger; their father was Tutumatua; the mother, Finetaunganoa.
Toke was the priest for both gods. Their incarnations were human in form and mani-
fested themselves in one house on the tract Nukutuli. They lived in a rock on Moun-
gaone called Mosomaka, which was about ten feet high, round and hollow and could [784]
be entered. It was tapu; people dared not go near it under penalty of death. The [171]
god Moso was the same as Moso in Samoa. The priest Toke shook when inspired and [787]
[793]

told the people that the gods wished pigs and other food, and when they saw the priest 776
shaking they knew the god wanted something. There is no descendant of the present [787]
Toke living in Moungaone to-day. Kava Moungaone is the chief of Moungaone, and the [793]
two gods were his patrons.

A third deity of Moungaone was the fish god Fakapatu (26, p. 81).

DEITIES OF NOMUKA ISLAND

Folautaofi was a god of Nomuka living in a hill called Fungaholu. The people [782]
prayed to this god and if anyone was sick, a person of his family sacrificed a little [755]
finger to the god. If a boat came from another place and then wanted to return but 776
could not because of strong wind, the people thought it was because the god was living 821
in the top of the mast of the vessel. The mast was then taken down, when the wind 505
quieted and the sea became smooth, so that they had a good day to go, the mast was
set up again. In the hill is a big hole with many human bones. It is thought that 776
Folautaofi lived in this hole and ate men. The "boat" of the god was the *kukafatu*, [266]
a shellfish which is not eaten by the people. [784]
[262]

Fehuluni, a deity who appears in various parts of the kingdom, is a frequenter of Nomuka especially (p. 292).

DEITIES OF UIHA ISLAND

Of the several deities of Uiha concerning whom I obtained information, Hikuleo (p. 292) and Tokeimoana (9, p. 234) have been to some extent
described. Tokeimoana (Eel-in-the-ocean) became incarnate in the eel, as [825]
his name implies.

Tokeimoana's house, called Hakaumama (Reef-of-the-world), was in the bush on a [778]
tract called Fongolongo. A priest named Hakaumama lived there and was fed there 776
and told the people whatever the god wanted. Sometimes the priest would say to the 793
people, "The god has arrived and is desirous of dining on pork." Thereupon the people would bake a pig and give it to him. Or he would demand some tapa; whereupon they would cut off a piece and give it to him.

When there was any sickness, a healthy man or woman was brought to the priest 782
to have a little finger amputated and taken to the god's house and offered as a sacrifice. 776
The person selected was a child of the sick person's mother's brother (*tuasina*), in other 755
words, an inferior cross-cousin. Some of the sick got well. 605

Taufaahau (afterwards King George I) and his family bowed down before the god 776
Tokeimoana. They were forbidden to eat sea eel, but the people who were not wor- 784
shippers might eat it. The people who worshipped this god had to lie exposed on the [262]
spot where the eel had been broiled or baked even if the fire was still burning. If [785]
they knew it was the place where their "god" had been killed they would go off in an-
other direction so as to avoid coming close to it. Whenever the eel in which the god [825]
was incarnate crawled about on dry land, the people assembled at the god's house and talked to it and when it returned to the water they left.

Haveakai was another Uiha god but was worshipped only at Felemea. The priests 776
of this god, after conversion to Christianity, bore the name Malakai. I could not learn 793
the Tongan name. The priest is said to have manifested the usual trembling when the [787]
god entered him. People near death were brought to him and finger sacrifices offered [763]
by some one of the sick person's relatives. So far as I can learn the operation of [782]
cutting off a finger joint was never performed by the priest himself, but always by one [304]
of the supplicants. The informant did not know what animal constituted the "boat"
of the god. Offerings of food brought by the people to this god would be completely [782]
consumed by Malakai, if he were inspired, or as the Tongan informant put it, he could

eat everything because his god was in him. To Haveakai, and to other Tongan gods, a 776
huge root of kava was an invariable present, as it is to a great chief. Such a sized 793 782
root was called *konga kava*. [276]

The priest of the god Kafoiaatu was named Maumui and his home was in the tract 776
Manaiange, in Uiha, where he had a house. He possessed whale ivory, which was 793
kept in a fine mat, and black tapa. The fine mat was placed on the black tapa, and 778
then wrapped in a piece of ordinary tapa, and no one was allowed to go near the place
where it was kept.

This deity was also the god of the chief Malupo of Uiha, and he and the people 776
prayed to Kafoiaatu. When they went to offer sacrifice they would wear Tahitian 782
chestnut leaves strung around their necks. They would sit outside the god's house and [801]
pray from there. They had also plain tapa (*lou-fetaaki*) wound around their heads. [516]
No chief ever offered any sacrifice, but the matapule did. [565]

The bird of the god is the fruit dove *kulukulu* (*Ptilopus porphyraceus*) and the 776
spirit of the god entered the *kulukulu*. If this dove flew and roosted in a tree, noise [825]
of any kind would be forbidden nearby. When Kafoiaatu entered Maumui, he shivered [787]
and cried and changed and became white like a corpse. If anyone was on the [763]
point of death and a person's finger was cut off and given as an offering to Kafoiaatu [782]
and that offering was accepted, the person recovered.

Another Uiha deity was the god Taufamangumoetoto.

His priest was Kakala. His tract was Finetofusi and he had a house on it.* The [793]
things he left in this house were a shield (*pa*) and a club. The bird of the god was [778]
the *kaleva* (*Eudynamis tahitiensis*) and he often entered into this bird. This god hated [825]
dogs. The people prayed and sacrificed to him. If there was any sickness, or a person
near death, they would then cut off somebody's finger and take it to Taufamangumoetoto [782]
and if the sacrifice were accepted, the person would live. If sacrifice were to be made [755]
the people wore a string of *hoi* leaves round their necks and then went and offered sacrifice [763]
to the god. It was forbidden that they enter the god's house and they would sit outside. [784]
This god belonged to Tuita Toluafetupu and his family and was regarded as very [778]
sacred (*toputapu aupito*). It was forbidden for anyone to make any noise near, or to
enter, the god's premises.

Another god in Uiha was called Foliaki of Pulotu.

This god belonged to Malupo and his family. His priest was Havea who lived [793]
in a house on the island Uiha; but apparently the shrine of the god was on Tatafa
Island. He had a basket as the shrine (*fakafaanga*) and container of his sacred objects [778]
of whale ivory and shells. He also had a pigeon (*lupe, Globicera pacifica*) which he [825]
would let loose. The pigeon would go to Tatafa Island and the people would go to the
pigeon. Their gatherings all took place at the Sia Hinefaitehina. If anyone was ill he [755]
and his relatives would string the chestnut leaves and wear them around their necks [782]
and go to the god and make their sacrifices near his shrine.

This god's food consisted of yams, pork, and other things, and he would drink the [782]
young coconuts. He detested the name of Fatafehi and it was never mentioned in Uiha. [784]
For the same reason the name Manumataongo Polau Faivaka was never called.

When this god entered Havea, the priest is said to shiver and change, and his face [787]
to become red, and his manner utterly different. Kava was not served to Havea in the [276]
ordinary kava cup, but in a folded banana leaf. He had scraped coconut for relish
(*fono*) and this was folded up in banana leaves. After he had partaken of the kava,
he would lift up his relish and eat it all, not leaving a crumb.

All noise, such as whistling and clapping, was forbidden at this god's place. [784]

There were two other Uiha deities whose names and sex the informant did not know. One of these deities had a house on a tract called Pulemoui,

which was presided over by a priestess named Hena, and the other was 776
established in the tract called Olotaane. The name of the priest was Hala- [793]
tapu.

DEITIES OF VAVAU

I have but little to add to Mariner's account of Vavau deities. Two
prominent deities were the goddesses Sisi and Faingaa, who sometimes ap- [825]
peared as two beautiful women or again as two herons, Sisi being a white
or piebald heron, Faingaa being a gray heron. Both the white and gray
birds belong to a single species which is dichromatic in coloring. There is
a story (26, p. 196) which relates to these goddesses in their human form.

At the village of Toula, Vavau, there stands to-day a large smooth boulder 776
on a grassy flat. There were formerly two of these boulders, but one has 823
been broken by the villagers to use for their ovens. The two stones were
said to represent Sisi and Faingaa, who often resided therein. A Toula [825]
informant said that when the goddesses left the boulders they assumed the
form of herons, and in that guise they went on long flights, catching and
eating human beings who came in their way.

The following list of gods of Vavau was supplied by Tapueluelu, the 776
mayor of Neiafu:

1. Talaiai Tupou, a male deity.
2. Tui Haa Fakafanua. The god became incarnate at times as a man who went about fighting the other gods. His priest in Vavau was named Faainu.
3. Haele Feke. The sacred animal of this god was the octopus.
4. Fehuluni. In Vavau, Fehuluni is considered as bisexual; appearing sometimes as a man, sometimes as a woman. This deity is said to have no sacred animal. There was, however, a priest to Fehuluni in Vavau. Aa Island was the god's residence (see p. 294).
5. Taufaitahi, a male deity who appeared in a certain shark.
6. Fakailoatonga, a male deity who might appear either in a shark or a kingfisher. His priest was Toki, for whom William Mariner was named. This deity was the god of my informant's father, Naufahu, the son of Finau Fisi. [Popua, a goddess of Tongatabu, was the patron deity of Tapueluelu's mother, who was Funakitoutai of Nukualofa. Funakitoutai's parents were from the Hihifo district of Tongatabu. Apparently the worship of Popua was never introduced to Vavau.]

Tapueluelu did not know of the god Aloalo. He said that Tui Tofua was strictly a Haapai god and Pulotu Katoa a Tongatabu god.

Of gods of other islands of the Vavau group but little was learned. A
goddess named Latutama presided over the island of Okoa and was said
to be worshipped there only. Her sacred animal was the shark. She was [825]
served by a priest who occupied a house in the tract called Kaukiola. The [793]
volcanic island of Late, to the west of Vavau, had as a god Tau[moefolau].
The informant was certain only of the first syllable of this name.

As to the particular deities which the various Vavau chiefs worshipped, [565]

Tapueluelu knew but little. He said that the people of the lineage Haa 776
Ngata Tupu worshipped Fakailoatonga. He said that commoners of the 565
lineage, as well as a great chief like Ulukalala, paid their addresses to this [613]
deity. The chief Luani worshipped Tui Haa Fakafanua and the chief
Tui Lakepa presumably worshipped Taliai Tupou.

Alomafao was a Samoan god whose favorite diet consisted of the inhabi- 776
tants of Tonga. In a great battle with the son of a Tui Haa Takalaua this 648
god was killed and in turn was eaten by the chief and his followers. The 266
oven where he was cooked may still be seen near Utungake, Utungake
Island, Vavau.

Deities of Niuatoputapu

The most famous deity in Niuatoputapu is Seketoa (26, p. 83), a god 776
who manifests himself in the form of a fish, and according to many ac- 825
counts is still seen to-day. It is said that Maatu, the chief of Niuatoputapu
can call Seketoa when at sea (16, p. 56). Not only do natives report the
appearance of the fish who is supposed to embody the god, but many white
people have seen the creature. The two following accounts were given by
Catholic priests. The first was written in September, 1917, by Father J. B.
Mace, S. M.

> At the time of my last visit to Niua Toputapu, in June last, it was my good fortune, an exceedingly rare one, to get acquainted with a Tongan divinity, a fish called Seketoa. Here is its origin.
>
> Seketoa was a chief of Niua Toputapu, who was to become Maatu, that is king. 776
> On that account one of the influential families, Haaila, had conceived a mortal hatred 825
> of him, and resolved that he should not be king. Now it happened that a member of 773
> that family, Tupa by name, went out to gather shellfish, which he allowed to rot. He [164]
> did that because the younger brother of Seketoa suffered from elephantiasis and another contagious skin disease.
>
> One evening he rubbed his legs with the decayed shellfish and at night went on [757]
> to the hut where Seketoa slept. Seketoa awoke and thought it was his brother who had entered. So he said, "Why have you come to me? Do you not know that your disease is contagious? And would you communicate it to me?" But the other, who was armed with an iron-wood lance, made no answer, but pierced Seketoa through and fled. Seketoa rose, but was unable to extract the wood which had broken close to the wound. He therefore went to the neighboring hut where the women were and asked them to bring out a light. He was then able to draw out the end of the lance.
>
> Then, having called his brother to him, the very one who was infected with the contagious disease, he said to him: "My will is that you become king of this island; as for me, I shall go to the sea to succor my brothers in distress." And at his bidding he was wrapped over in coconut leaves and cast into the sea.
>
> The brother of Seketoa became Maatu, that is king of Niua. He communicated his [753]
> disease to his subjects. And since that time a large proportion of the people are [164]
> afflicted with elephantiasis and other skin diseases.
>
> After being cast into the sea, Seketoa transformed himself into a fish whose color and dimensions it is impossible to determine. His peculiarity lies precisely in this, that he assumes an infinite variety of sizes and colors, sometimes suddenly. The mark by which he is recognized is the scar he bears in his side. Sometimes, though seldom,

he appears as a small fish, no longer than a man's hand. At other times he is a real 776
giant, not less than 5 or 6 meters long. 825

Truly strange feats are told of him. Here is one which is of special interest to 773
us, as it occurred some fifteen years ago.

One of my fellow-priests, the Rev. Father Berger, who died in 1905, was then residing at Niua Toputapu. He had spent several weeks in the island of Tafahi, to carve out a large *lali*, a wooden bell, such as are used in the various stations of our Vicariate Apostolic to call the faithful to church. The large piece of timber, enormous in size, had been placed upon a raft made of bamboo, which was towed by two native rowboats.

When hardly a hundred meters from the shore our Catholics noticed that it would be impossible for them to reach their destination, the weight of the cargo was forcing the raft under water.

On account of certain remnants of superstition, of which unhappily our Catholics have not entirely rid themselves, such an accident would have augured terrible evils whose consequences might prove disastrous to religion. In their minds a church without a bell is a body without a soul, and therefore the loss of their bell in the depths of the sea meant that defections were to be feared. But just when they expected the *lali* to sink, Seketoa appeared. He slipped beneath the raft, and raised and carried it to the shore of Niua about four miles away.

I have heard twenty times the narration of the fact from eye-witnesses. My fellow-missionaries know it, and the Rev. Father Berger, it is said, has left a relation of it in writing.

That famous *lali* still exists. It is at the station of Vaipoa. It is the largest known. The natives call it "Seketoa's *lali*."

I might relate many another interesting detail, but come directly to what con- 776
cerns me. 825

We were about fifteen people aboard an old boat. We had just left Niua Toputapu and were near the island of Tafahi, when a native cried out, "Seketoa! Seketoa!" In a second all were afoot. I had often heard of the famous sea-god, but never yet had had the good fortune of seeing him. This time it was not difficult to examine him at leisure, for he almost touched the boat for a whole hour without once disappearing. He was a splendid fish, measuring, so far as I could judge, fully 5 meters. He followed us as a dog follows his master. What struck me most was his change of colors, occurring suddenly and passing from dark gray to sky blue—then he was truly admirable. His head was rather large, but his mouth was very small.

As soon as we sighted him, one of the natives hurriedly cast him a kava root, which fell scarcely a half meter from him; and without further delay other young men began busily to beat a second root to prepare a beverage in his honor. As soon as the kava was ready, it was duly distributed. Naturally, the first cup was for the "divinity" that swam in our wake. Its contents were poured into the sea. For a whole hour the pagans that happened to be aboard never ceased to address him compliments, and wishes, and prayers. It was a sight at once laughable and painful, sad and touching, so great were their fervor and conviction.

At last, after having raised himself erect upon his tail almost to the surface, the god-fish left our ship and disappeared.

In reality, what is Seketoa, that fish which appears so seldom, always unaccompanied, which is unafraid of man, whose color varies so, and which is so helpful to man? How is it that it was never noticed in the groups of Central Oceania other than Niua? Fabulists and naturalists offer an explanation, that, for instance, of Lafontaine of old in the fable of "The Monkey and the Dolphin." Seketoa, at least just as he appeared to me, might be a dolphin. His change of colors, which is so striking, is not an unheard of thing—the sea-spider, they say, enjoys the same peculiarity. That explanation, however, I accept only with reservations, in the case that concerns us; since it explains but partly the role of Seketoa. Here is another.

Seketoa, who according to all versions belongs to the royal family of Niua, may 776
well be a mere "invention" of one of the kings of Niua, framed for the purpose of 825
deceiving his subjects and of forestalling any future revolt on their part against his family. The fear of displeasing Seketoa, the sea-god and ancestor of Maatu may have secured the latter's authority and prevented the natives tired of his domination from quitting the island in frail canoes in search of new lands.

Those who may feel satisfied with this explanation might confirm it by saying that 776
elephantiasis and diseases of the skin prove that the punishment occasioned by the mur- 825
der of Seketoa is always upon the population. That such diseases exist and are the 753
plague of the country I know from experience. I remember a kava in which I took 164
part in Niua, while I was there some years ago on a protracted visit. We sat nine in all. With the exception of the two girls that were preparing the drink, we were all afflicted with elephantiasis. I think, however, that the marshes of the island were rather a more efficient cause of it than Seketoa.

However that may be, and although I may be called a simpleton for it, I will add 776
that those conjectures concerning Seketoa deserve no credit, though I am disposed to 825
believe that in his manifestations there is something mysterious and disquieting. Such as have dwelt a certain number of years in our islands know how difficult it is to dislodge the devil from his haunts. Now, at the close of the last century, he was absolute master of Niua Toputapu. If he was forced to yield ground, he did so reluctantly; and at all events was careful to leave deceitful snares behind him. And what can his apparent help prove in the case I have related of the *lali* of our Catholics? Absolutely nothing, if not that all means are good enough for him, so long as he can induce souls into error and ravish from God some of the honor and confidence which are His due.

Once when Father Thomas, S. M., was near Niuatoputapu, he saw Seketoa about his boat for more than two hours. He describes him as a large fish with changing colors. On another occasion Seketoa saved one of the members of the mission from drowning. Father Thomas, together with some natives, was proceeding on a raft which began to sink. When hope was lost, Seketoa appeared beneath the raft and buoyed it up until they reached shore safely.

The chief Maatu spoke of two rocks between Niuatoputapu and Samoa, 776
called Fatukau and Fatukalapu, which were deified. They were the home of the god Fatuulu:

Fatuulu, in human form, used to come to Tafahi Island and give commands. His voice was heard to Niuatoputapu Island. A man who used to be his mouthpiece was
named Toumaama, meaning "man near god (*tou*) spreader (of god's words)." He was [793]
the priest in the time of Ngongo (p. 285). There is a place on Tafahi to be seen now where
Fatuulu stood. They never ate fish in Niuatoputapu until the god gave permission. If [784]
anyone ate before the god lifted the tapu that person died immediately on the first [262]
mouthful. This applied to all fish. Toumaama notified the people for the god. When [787]
the god came, Toumaama would tremble like a leaf, and would neither eat nor drink. The god came and went as he pleased. The tapu was put on or lifted as the god
liked. The presence of the god is still evidenced by the fact that certain small fish [224]
(*kaloama*) immediately leave if proper form is not observed in catching them.

When the god appeared in the priest, he uttered commands as to killing of pigs. 776
Thunder and lightning accompanied the god as he walked over the ocean. The priest 793
then became possessed, for the god came and entered into the priest. The face of the 787
priest was all illuminated, his eyes staring. The people would hide when the god [852]

appeared. When the priest became inspired he uttered the god's commands. The priest 776
always became inspired at one particular place on Tafahi. There was no temple, how- 793
ever, but only a large rock which was also called Fatuulu. (The gods entered their 787
priests only at certain places.) The ground at this rock was sacred. Any man who [778]
stood on it would die. Even a Maatu might not go there. Fatuulu commanded all the
fish. The *kaloama* was not especially sacred to him. Fatuulu was the Otua Haa [825]
Maatu, that is, the god of the lineage of Maatu. [613]

Maatu knew the place of another god but did not remember his name. 776

There was a god house. This god supported Maatu (Ikamafana II?) when he con- 776
quered Tafahi. Ngongo did some fighting, too. The god's house (43) was like a chief's 346
house, except that it was closed in all around and the entrance was through a hole
just under the eaves, reached by climbing a tree. This god entered into Maatu him- 776
self; that is, into everyone of the line. The god that entered Maatu was different 787
from those that entered priests. The reason the Niuatoputapuans were not conquered
by the Tongatabuans was because this god stayed with them all the time. The dif-
ference between this god and Fatuulu was that this god was in Maatu all the time
and never left him, while Fatuulu came from the rocks in the ocean to enter Tou- [793]
maama. Maatu himself as embodying his god was a priest too. In battle, Maatu's
god would run ahead of him in human form.

When a person became ill he was carried to Maatu's god's house and laid outside. 776
If the person's sickness did not yield to medicines, a consultation of the family settled 782
who would sacrifice a little finger for the sick person. This was done in the sick
person's house, and the blood caught in a banana leaf and two outer finger joints [304]
placed in it. These were carried to the god's house. People would sit on the ground [516]
outside, cross-legged, hands clasped, heads bowed down. They put the offering on
the ground while the priest looked down from the doorway. This is said to apply also 776
to Fatuulu, who had a similar house. The priest would say, "It is well. The god 782
has told me you may take this man back. He is well now. His sin is finished." Then 793
they would all arise with the man that was sick and go home. 755

If the people went in the morning with sacrifice they might sit at the god's house 782
all day until the god gave an answer. Having to sit there in the sun was something of a
sacrifice itself. Each had to have a ragged mat around his waist and wear a necklace [292]
of Tahitian chestnut leaves.

A god's house might be in the bush. All was tapu around for a certain distance. 778
People would not go near. No one went inside. In the house of Maatu's god were [784])
war implements, large white cowries, and a kava bowl. Shells, other than cowries,
were strung spirally around the posts.

Seketoa did not have a priest because the transformation of the young chief to fish 776
form took place so recently. Seketoa had no house. He was always a fish after his 793
suicide. (26, p. 83.) 825

At times the priest would order a member of some family to be stran- 793
gled. The reason might be that the person did not believe in the god. "In 165
those days all were practically slaves to the gods." There were many other 776
gods unknown to the informant, but all were afraid of Maatu's god. The [825]
pig was sacred to Maatu's god. People might kill and eat pigs only at the
god's pleasure.

Offerings were not regularly made by the people. When the god wanted 776
something the priest gave orders that it be brought. No excuse would be 782
given for the demand.

the hands of the god. Moreover, standing in each god's house there were, 778
in addition to the mats, wooden war weapons and other objects which were [688]
painted yellow with turmeric. Some of the wooden objects standing in the
god's house seem to have been more or less rudely shaped into human form,
although there is no evidence that they were regarded as idols.

Offerings of finger joints or human lives, or of food were presented to 782
the god whose aid was sought through the priest. Prayer, at fire lighting [171]
in the evening, is reported for Samoa, but appears not to have been practiced
in Tonga. Kava, however, was poured out on the ground as an offering [276]
to the gods in heathen times. Before engaging in warfare, boxing, wrestling, [726]
or other athletic contest, each contestant would throw a bit of kava, called [526]
mesini, over the fence into the enclosure of his patron deity, to procure the
protection of the god.

Other individuals, as well as priests, seem to have been the repositories 538
of stories concerning the gods. These stories are called *talatupua*, the name 773
apparently containing the stem *tupui* which refers to the original
gods as distinguished from disembodied human spirits. The word *talanoa*
refers to old-time stories, but not necessarily those that deal with the gods.
The enclosure in which a priest's or god's house stood was often referred to 778
grandiloquently as *lotoalahi* (inside the great fence). The houses of the 346
priests and gods seem to have borne especial names, as well as the tracts
upon which they stood. For example, Falemanaia applied to a god-house
at Makave, Vavau Island. The site where the Falemanaia stood is now
marked by an irregular mound about 4 feet high. Other temple names are
mentioned above.

Certain of the priests seem not only to have exercised the usual priestly 793
functions of medium for the god, but seem also to have been at times the 764
caretakers of adjacent cemeteries. Thus, the priest who resides at Fiehua,
the shrine of the god Finautauiku, was also the caretaker of the cemetery
Loamanu, wherein the Tui Haa Takalaua were buried, and where small
carved wooden figures are said to have been set up at graves. It was suggested by the priest Kautae that they were purely decorative, which would
bear out Cook's observation of the lack of respect bestowed upon them
(66, p. xlix).

Each lineage, represented by its chief or head, had a god who was worshipped by all members of the lineage. Children worshipped the god of 776
613
their father and commonly the wife adopted the worship of the god of her [593]
husband. Sometimes, when a god was believed to be incarnate in some bird, [825]
a bird of that particular species would be kept in the house of the chief of
the lineage.

Gods seem not to have been connected with settlements or districts, but
to have been connected only with groups of people; that is, with patri-

lineal lineages. Thus, it is proper to speak only of the gods of chiefs and 776
of lineages not of the gods of localities. Often more than one god was 613
attached to a lineage. Thus the head of the Haa Takalaua might be under
the protection of a great god like Finautauiku. All members of the lineage
were likewise under that god's protection, and in addition, certain members
of the lineage might have lesser gods as their patrons.

Aside from Tangaloa Tufunga, the patron of carpenters, I could learn 776
of no occupational deities. The attachment of a god to the head of a family 463
might give the appearance of occupational deities. Thus, the head of a 592
matapule family, which practiced carpentering, or functioned as undertakers,
might have a certain deity as his patron, but as the patron of the family
rather than of the occupation.

Not only did the priest of a lineage or family act as a medium between 793
the lineage and the gods, but also as a medium between the lineage and the 775
spirits of its dead. Offerings were made to these spirits by the family 769
through the priest. It was thought that these ancestors could cause illness, 613
a belief which doubtless led to the making of propitiatory offerings. How- 753
ever, other more direct and retaliatory means were sometimes resorted to.
The grave of the offending ancestor might be broken open, the bones taken
out and beaten, and imprecations uttered. To avoid sickness caused by the 753
spirit of the deceased relative or ancestor, Tongans did not pass through 764
or near graveyards at night. It was thought that the spirits of ancestors 775
sometimes became visible. Thus, at Tatakamotonga in Tongatabu, a light,
supposed to be Tukuaho's spirit (*faahikehe*), is sometimes seen at the spot
where the Tui Kanokupolu Tukuaho was murdered in 1799. Not only 776
families headed by chiefs, but also those headed by matapule, had patron 565 592
gods. Some families of commoners had a household or patron deity.
The family of the great matapule Motuapuaka had the god Haele
Feke as its patron. This god became incarnate in the octopus and 825
there was a tapu against Motuapuaka's people eating that animal. A Meth- 784
odist minister named Malupo, who is a member of Motuapuaka's lineage, 262
even to-day gets a headache when he eats octopus. This god sometimes 776
manifested himself in the priest, who conveyed verbally the messages of the 793 787
god, and upon the withdrawal of the god shook so violently, that people
must rush to him and hold him, in order that he might not injure himself.

The patron deity of the Tui Tonga is reported by Farmer (23) to 776
have been Hikuleo. The patron deity of the Tui Haa Takalaua and of the 643
great chief Tungi, was Finautauiku and the officiating priest was Mohekifiehua. The patron deity of the Tui Kanokupolu was Taliai Tupou whose
priest was called Totohoumafisi. Tui Ahau was by some informants declared to be another manifestation of Taliai Tupou, by other informants
a separate deity. Tui Ahau was regarded as a patron of the Tui Kano-

kupolu. A deity named Malua Taufa was also mentioned as a patron of 776
the Tui Kanokupolu. The priest Totohoumafisi resided not in western 643
Tongatabu, but at Tatakamotonga, adjoining the Tui Tonga's capital of [793]
Lapaha. The tract upon which Taliai Tupou's temple was situated, and [778]
wherein Totohoumafisi resided, was called Kavaui. The nearby residence
of the Tui Kanokupolu at Tatakamotonga, as well as at his residence at Kolovai in the Hihifo district, was called Langakali. The patron deity of the 776
lineage Haa Fakafanua, and of the chief of that lineage who was called 613
Fakafanua, was the gecko god Tui Haa Fakafanua. He is today referred [825]
to in the inelegant phraseology of "Fakafanua's devil". His principal seat is at Maufanga, Tongatabu, where Fakafanua resides.

The patron deity of the chief Nuku, the head of the Haa Latu Hifo, was Pulotu Katoa. His priest was Vakaahi. Mofutaetau was a patron deity of the chief Tamale who resided at Niutoua, Tongatabu. The god Taufaitahi was the patron of both Taufaahau, afterwards King George I, and of the great chief Tungi. His priest is named Kautae, the incumbent in 1921 having been appointed by the present Tungi. The chief Valu of Utulau, Tongatabu, was under the patronage of the god Kaifakaau.

None of the priests of the gods seem themselves to have actually officiated 793
at sacrifices, thus differing very markedly from the priests of the Aztec 782
gods of Mexico who were the executioners of the sacrificial victims. Sacrifice in Tonga seems always to have been made by the supplicants. In the sacrifice of neither an infant nor an older person, did the priest garrot the victim with the strangling cord; this was done by the victim's own relatives. The same was true of finger sacrifices.

The term *momoi* means to present an offering or sacrifice. The one who offers the sacrifice is called *moihu,* a term which also has the significance of mediator and as such also applies in a way to the priest.

HUMAN SACRIFICE

Amputation of a little finger was a widespread practice in the eighteenth 782
century, and was noted by Tasman (30, p. 27) also in 1643. In 1921 but 304
one person was living who had undergone this sacrifice. The informant, Rose Fatafehi, had witnessed the sacrifice of a little finger to the god Tui Haa Fakafanua.

Cook recounts (18, vol. 1, p. 222):

> A still more singular custom prevails in these isles: We observed that the greatest part of the people, both men and women, had lost one, or both their little fingers. We endeavored, but in vain, to find out the reason of this mutilation; for no one would take any pains to inform us. It was neither peculiar to rank, age, or sex; nor is it done at any certain age, as I saw those of all ages on whom the amputation had been just made; and, except some young children, we found few who had both hands per-

Kama, who was residing in Maufanga in 1921. Kama said also that there 778
were no carved images within the sanctuary, and that no god other than Tui [776]
Haa Fakafanua presided there.

When Vahai's army came to Maufanga (about 1800), all the people had fled to 778
the bush, leaving one cat, which Vahai took. He burnt the houses and the temple 669
and the sanctuary of the god Tui Haa Fakafanua. Later when the chief Fakafanua [797]
refused to become a Christian, Taufaahau also burned Maufanga, including temple
and sanctuary. Fakafanua had removed his people to Pea, as he thought he could not [722]
withstand Taufaahau at Maufanga. He removed all in a double vessel (*kalia*) to Pea
at the suggestion of the chief Lavaka of Pea. This was presumably on the occasion
of the siege of Pea in 1852.

Another famous sanctuary, with which is connected a remarkable story of devotion (p. 300), was that of the god Taufaitahi in Tatakamotonga. Other sanctuaries of less importance but still worthy of mention were situated on the island of Ofu, Vavau, at Makave, at Feletoa, and at Tofoa, all in Vavau. The sanctuary at Makave bore the high sounding name Tongamopulotu (Tonga and Pulotu). All of these Vavau sanctuaries had surrounding fences and each had within it the house of the presiding deity and priest. 778

SACRED ANIMALS

Of the various sacred animals of the Tongan deities, only one, the flying 778
fox, seems still to maintain a certain degree of sanctity, and in only one 825
specific locality, the village of Kolovai, in the Hihifo district of Tongatabu. 776
They are regarded as connected with the chief Ata rather than with the whole Haa Ngata Motua. Ata stated to me that the flying foxes and the flying fox god Pekapekaatama were not always connected with the Ata chieftainship, but that they were formerly sacred to the matapule Ula. They were transferred to Ata in the time of the great-grandfather of the present Ata. Ata thinks this transfer took place after Christianity had been established and was made "just for fun." Collocott, however, thinks that the transfer had been made in pre-Christian times.

Collocott (9, p. 230) gives a brief account of the flying fox god. The [604]
chief Ata may not shoot the flying foxes, but Tungi and Albert Tupou, who are *fahu* to Kolovai may do so if they wish.

At this time it is difficult to say to what extent similar tapus for other sacred animals were observed in antiquity. A shellfish called *fuhu* was said also to be sacred to Ata, being at times the incarnation of a god, whose name I did not learn.

Other sacred animals of importance were the white tern sacred to Aloalo, the gecko sacred to Tui Haa Fakafanua, the shark sacred to Taufa, the octopus sacred to Haele Feke, the dog sacred to Pulotu Katoa, the fruit dove sacred to Kafoiaatu, and the herons sacred to Sisi and Faingaa.

Tasman (30, p. 32) mentions the respect paid to the sea snake: "I have 778
seen one of these persons take up a water-snake which came floating by 825
his prow, lay it upon his head with great reverence, and then put it into the 776
water again."

Neither the large green tree lizard called *fokai*, nor the pretty little skink called *pili*, seem to have been sacred to any god.

MANA

The word "mana" in Tongan means "miracle, thunder; to bewitch, to 778
cause something to happen to another." Apparently the Tongan concept [171]
of mana differs from the Melanesian concept, inasmuch as the power is
not believed to be resident in stones and other natural objects which can
be placed in a plantation or on the reef to secure success in horticultural
or fishing operations. To be sure, if a man's yams grow well and his pigs 778
multiply, it is said that he has mana, but the mana is due to the favor of a 776
god, or gods, not to an impersonal supernatural power. Ghosts and departed [775]
relatives were never the source of mana in Tonga, but only the [784]
tupui otua or original gods. Conversely, loss of mana is due to conduct
displeasing to a god.

A son can inherit his father's mana only by following his father's conduct. 778
Should the son err, the mana may leave him, being bestowed upon [428]
another man. To-day it is thought that mana attaches to a good Christian,
especially a clergyman (*faifekau*). A man, poor but a good Christian, who
is quickly blessed with plenty, has had mana bestowed upon him by God.
A person who fails to achieve success does so because of the non-bestowal [777]
of mana upon him, which is no more visible than is a god, its presence being
manifested by an abundance of world's goods. One informant gave the term
mofi (to astonish, to cause fear) as the word describing the power of a god,
which is probably to a large extent equivalent to mana.

One informant took pains to emphasize that faith in the gods, not offerings, [776]
was the necessary prerequisite to the acquisition of mana. Other informants [782]
said that prayer and sacrifice to the gods were necessary. A person [777]
who is endowed with mana is called a *monuia* (lucky person), a term
based on the stem *monu* (lucky).

The term *manahi* (obviously based on the stem mana) means anger. If 778
a father were angry ("wild") at a son for two or three years, the son would 753
be likely to sicken and die. The father, however, could make him well again [593]
by forgiving him and touching the son's body with his hands. Presumably
the same result would follow from the anger of any superior relative.
Maatu, the chief of Niuatoputapu, had the following to say:

The following translation of an old text refers to the destiny of souls 775
in ancient times, but without reference to rank:

> It was said by the people in olden times, that when this body died it [evidently the soul and not the physical body is meant] went at once to Pulotu. When they [the souls] got there, Hikuleo (the ruler of Pulotu) chose some as posts for his fence, and some as supports for the log on which tapa is made, and some were taken as posts for the gate of Hikuleo's fence, etc."

Souls in Pulotu were thought to have earthly appearance though they
are only shadows. The souls or spirits of chiefs (including the Tui Tonga)
were thought to go to Pulotu, identified with the Underworld (Lolofonua)
by some modern Tongans. The soul of a commoner was supposed to appear 775
as an insect on a tapa or mat specially spread after the burial. The tapa 825
was spread in the house where the commoner died and the watchers sat 565
about until an insect appeared thereon, when the mat was carefully folded
and tied near the ceiling of the house and never again examined. This
appearance of the soul of the deceased was called *fakahaele laumalie*. The
souls of chiefs never appeared in insect or other animal form.

Now and then the soul of a very great man might manifest itself 775
through a priest. Ideas about reincarnation of the deceased were rare,
though a story is told of a dying man who told his weeping children that
he would return as a white man to care for them. Another account relates
that a woman's soul, incarnate in a rat, came to visit her child. Another [825]
woman's soul was said to be incarnate in a large lizard (26, p. 108). Normally,
only the gods, and not the souls of men, became incarnate, in animals.
The souls or spirits of men might return to this earth, however, as
indicated in a narrative and poem recorded by Collocott (16, p. 96).

The term for ghosts (*faahikehe*)—also applied to the gods, to the soul, 774
and (or) the spirit—is a generic term for spiritual beings and means literally 775
"different side or different half of anything divided" (in contrast to 776
human beings). Baker defines *faahikehe* as "the name for all the Tonga 196
gods; an evil spirit." One informant likened a *faahikehe* to an image in a
mirror, describing it as something seen but incapable of being grasped. One
informant gave the word *otua* (god) as an occasional term for ghost. The [793]
word *faahikehe* is also applied to the priest, apparently when possessed by [787]
the god. This usage prevailed in Mariner's time (41, vol. 2, p. 80), as well
as to-day.

Some sickness is believed to be due to possession by a ghost. The treatment 775
is to drink an infusion of certain leaves called *lautolu* and to have the 753
infusion massaged on the body as well. When the ghost is thus driven out 787
the patient cries bitterly, "because sorry to part with the ghost." The 755
infusion may be used as a prophylactic against possession. 757

Certain natural phenomena, though not being regarded as ominous, some- 787
times caused alarm. Earthquakes were believed to be caused by the move- [823]
ments of one of the Maui who is thought to support the earth. The apparent
movement of the sun to the northern tropic was observed, though not the 821
motive for alarm or ceremony. When the sun was farthest north the sea-
son was called *faahi tau momoko* (cold season). It marked the beginning
of the year and the time of yam planting. When the sun was at the south-
ern tropic the season was called *faahi tau mafana* (warm season).

An expected eclipse of the moon which occurred in October, 1920, though [787]
causing no alarm, was regarded as indication of strong wind in a few days.
The moon eclipse is called *mate mahina* (death of the moon). Similarly an
eclipse of the sun is called *mate laa*. Apparently the infrequency of sun
eclipses is one reason why they cause alarm. One occurred in 1918 and
was evidently the first seen by many people. Although they had been
forewarned by a visiting astronomer, intense alarm prevailed. The infor-
mant who had never seen one before, and who was in the bush at the time,
ran for his village as fast as possible. He said the ancient belief was that [776]
the sun was a god and was angry with people and showed anger by going
out. Evidently some of this belief still survived in 1918.

The activities of certain birds and lizards were believed to be especially 787
pregnant with indications of forthcoming events. The Tongans, even to-day, 825
take cognizance of these movements to an extent that suggests the Malay-
sian observation of animal movements. The gecko (*moko*) is everywhere
in Tonga an omen animal. It is regarded particularly as a barometer of 787
impending weather conditions. If it remains quiet, good weather is in- 825
dicated, if it is very active, a storm is imminent. This little lizard, sacred 821
to the god Tui Haa Fakafanua, was taken aboard vessels anciently as a
barometer. Another weather indicator is the frigate bird (*lofa*), rare in
Tonga, whose appearance presages a gale or hurricane. The barking of dogs 787
at night without evident cause is a sign of the presence of ghosts. Dogs bore 825
place and personal names anciently and were fondled and talked to by their 231
masters (usually chiefs). There was no belief that it was dangerous to [775]
address conversation to a dog. [521]

Birds played by far the most important part as omen givers. The 787
calling of the owl (*lulu*) immediately after lamplighting is a sign of a 825
pregnant woman in the house, and if the owl calls over a house in the 763
middle of the night, it is a sign of impending death. If the gallinule (*kalae*) [843]
cries close to a house, it is also considered a notification of impending
death. A number of *fuleheu* birds (*Ptilotis carunculata*) flying together in
a particular formation is called *fata* (bier) and is a sign of death. Another
evil omen of the *fuleheu*, called *sipa*, consists in a number of them sounding
the note of alarm. If a cock crows, soon after the time when the fowls

have gone to roost, that is a sign of death, but if another cock answers him, 787
it is all right and nothing will happen. The cocks will crow when they 825
are going to roost, but the ominous crowing is after that, when no sound [763]
is expected from them. Later on again if the cock crows, that is called *uua hausia* (dewy? crowing) and has nothing ominous about it. When a number of fowls make the clucking (?) noise called *kotoko,* passing on from one place to another, the sound being taken up by successive groups of the birds, that is called *kotoko folau,* and is a sign that boats or ships are about to arrive.

There are many omens also connected with the kingfisher (*sikota*). If 787
a kingfisher flies towards a person or flies continually about him, it is 825
bad luck and he should turn back. If it flies in the direction he is going, 777
or across his path, it is good luck. The following incident reported by W. H. Murley is characteristic of Tongan behavior:

> Whilst sitting in the house the other mid-day deep in conversation with a middle-aged Tongan, a young kingfisher (*sikota*) flew into the room, completed a circle of it and disappeared out of the other door, simultaneously with the Tongan's rising and shifting his quarters to the veranda. On my asking the reason of his getting out of the house the Tongan (Latu by name) replied, in most impressive tones "Tama, that is a bird of ill omen and brings spirits with it. Take care that some harm does not befall you ere long." I only laughed and said I didn't believe in such things. "Yes," he went on, "You may laugh but I tell you that evil spirits come with rubbish and lizards and rats, as well as with kingfishers."

The poem by Fusitouone mentions certain evil bird and insect omens 787
in the following terms. 825
538

In the morning we go for our walk; 539
And strikes behind the kingfisher,
And ticks in the day the *pakia* insect,
And squeaks down the evil owl,
And the rail cries on the road;
We two will return accursed.

DREAMS

Dreams (*misi*) seem to have been of little importance in forecasting 787
events. 828

The following scanty, and in part contradictory, data refer to the interpretation of dreams, so far as they bear on the future:

> A dream is often regarded as a warning by a spirit of some impending disaster.
> Thus, a dream that a person falls overboard and drowns, is likely to come true. The [763]
> dream, however, may not augur death for the one dreamt about, but for one of his family. To dream of a neighbor's house burning down is believed not only to presage
> such a burning, but perhaps one or two deaths besides. At times dreams go by op- [763]
> posites. Thus a dream in which one appeared very happy might presage his death.
>
> The kind of dream that comes true is one in which a person (alive or dead) comes and tells the dreamer something that is quite clear and distinct. When one

sees many things in a muddled dream they do not come true. The period that elapses 787
between a dream and its fulfilment is variable—it may be a week or it may be several 828
months.

A sickness called *fafanga*, which is manifested by a "bad stomach" and results in [753]
"doubling up" or even death, is caused by dreaming that a man comes and feeds the dreamer pork, fowl, and other rich food.

A sickness called *takini*, painful urination, is believed to be caused by the frequent [753]
dreaming of sexual intercourse. The belief is that the visitant of the dreamer is a [831]
spirit (*tevolo*). [776]

MAGIC

Most of the extant magical practices are to be found in the formulas 789
of the *faitoo* (doctors). Material presented here includes odds and ends 755
of magical practices not largely concerned with curing. Malevolent magic 754
is still practiced. Spoken words were believed to be effective too. Thus the term *talatukii* means to curse, to use imprecations so deadly and horrible, that the person against whom they were directed usually died from the effect.

Any medicine man or woman was called *faitoo*. The house of a *faitoo* was called 756
falehangatamaki. One informant said that this house was only that of a *faitoo* who treated boils and skin eruptions, and this statement is probably correct, as *hangatamaki* means any sickness or disease appearing upon the surface of the body. When confronted with a sickness about whose diagnosis he was in doubt, a *faitoo* passed his hands over the diseased part, repeating a formula which named every possible disease known and directed the medicine to cure any one or all of them. (See p. 343.)

When collecting the bark of the *tava* and *siale* (*Gardenia*) for medicine the collector always observes which part is towards the setting sun and collects the bark [757]
from that side. It is believed to be particularly efficacious, though no reason was given.

One informant stated that his father had buried his umbilical cord and 789
planted a coconut over it. As the tree flourished, so would the individual. 825
I could get no corroboration of this as a practice. No other account of [846]
tree planting was obtained. Possibly fear that the tree might be killed and the person suffer make people reticent.

The story of the turtle Sangone mentions the magical stopping of growth 789
and retention of childhood by striking a child on the top of the head (26, p. 50).

When a child's milk tooth is extracted it is thrown on the roof of a 789
house, so that the second tooth will grow quickly. At the same time this 856
rhyme is said:

Hinehina matailaila	White with spots	[539]
Omai hoo nifo kovi mooku	Give me your bad tooth	[538]
Kae o atu hoo nifo lelei moou.	But have a good tooth for yourself.	

That there is a ceremonial or lucky number in Tonga I did not definitely 777
ascertain. That there was, or is, such a number seems likely and it may

be ten. Ten heads as trophies, or ten enemies slain, was the aim of each 777 warrior. Ten sharks taken relieved fishing-canoe owners from further ceremonial observances. Ten constituted the winning number of points in dart-throwing (*sika*) and bowling (*fakateka*).

The term *tukutuku taumuli* is to make a new boat lucky. Whether it is an actual object or merely a ceremonial act, I did not learn.

Fishermen doubtless had many magical practices in connection with 789 their profession. The following is a fisherman's call, bidding the fish to 226 partake of the bait:

E kai mai, kai mai,	O, eat there! eat there!	[539]
E tuona, faona, kai ho'o feke kuo osi mama,	O pull, stretch, eat your masticated octopus,	[538]
E tuona, tuo tuona, faona mai kai ma,	O pull, pull steady, stretch there, eat there	
Kai mai e.	O eat there!	

Whether the call is used for shark fishing, I cannot say, but at any rate, the fishermen talk to the shark, directing its actions and soliciting its help. Often the shark is called Hina and is perhaps identified with that deity (26, p. 183).

The sea slug (*mulione*) when taken, is split in half along its lateral edge and the upper half thrown back into the water with the belief that a new slug will grow from it.

Weak children, when weaned, are fed on rats and cats to get back their 789 strength, as these animals are said to be long lived and hard to kill. The 825 same idea is involved in the use of the word *kuma* (rat) as a personal 855 name for a child who nearly dies at birth. The name Kuma is believed [262] to preserve his life.

To-day there is a certain amount of belief in witchcraft. A wizard or 754 witch is called a *fakalouakau* (*louakau*, leaf; *lou*, leaf; *akau*, a tree or medicine). It seems likely, therefore, that interpreted literally *fakalouakau* means a person who operates with leaf medicine. The accounts of two informants which I obtained in 1920 stress the use of leaves in witchcraft.

An informant in Lifuka Island, Haapai, said that the sorcerer operates with different kinds of leaves rolled in a ball and wrapped in tapa, the ball being placed in the dwelling house or somewhere in the plantation of the victim to encompass his sickness and death or to cause his crops to fail. As the leaves in the ball rotted the victim was believed to sicken.

The second informant (or rather, pair of informants, a man and wife), 754 interviewed on the island of Nomuka, Haapai, said that the aid of a *tevolo* 776 was necessary for success in witchcraft. A man who became a wizard went into the bush and prepared a bamboo tube in which he put the leaves. The informant said that if a person steals up close to the wizard he will hear

A woman whose husband had recently died came with her children to a missionary. She said the children were sickly. Consumption appeared the obvious trouble, but she wanted the missionary to pray with them, maintaining that there was a curse somewhere. She had learned from conversation in their village that the children's grandfather had had a pact (held the book, *puke tohi*) with his *tuofefine* (sister or female cousin) and had concluded that this was the reason for all the disaster. 753 [164]

A man had been sick for sometime, and so all his family were cross-examined as to their acts. It developed that one of his sons had gone to Niuafoou some time before with his cousin's wife. He was supposed to look after her on the voyage and performed his duties too tenderly. That was the reason of his father's illness, so it was thought, but whether the son's confession did the old man any good was not learned. [835]

On page 334 I have recounted an incident in which the child of a Tui Tonga became ill because of the intrigue of its mother, while the Tui Tonga was in Haapai. Certain other acts were believed to have serious consequences for one doing them. (See pp. 18, 118, 335, 343, 344.) [837]

Dreams of a certain type are believed to cause certain ailments. (See p. 337.) [828]

To kill the white tern when on a voyage is believed to bring illness. To point at a rainbow, or at the setting sun, is believed to give one elephantiasis in the arm. It is not injurious, however, to look at a rainbow. [825] [821]

If women, bathing in a certain pool or passing near the western cemetery at Maufanga, Tongatabu, saw a gecko, they said that Tui Haa Fakafanua (a god who becomes incarnate in the *gecko*) had entered one of them because he liked her. Pining away and death were the result. Even today, when a girl at Maufanga dies, it is often said that Tui Haa Fakafanua has caused her death. Convent girls from the Hahake district of Tongatabu are said to be particularly liable to such attacks because the Hahake people and the Maufanga people were formerly at enmity. 753 776 787 (761)

Other gods or demons were also believed to enter into living persons and cause illness. To drive out such an unwelcome tenant, the affected part of the body was tightly held and massaged, working the demon to an extremity of the body to force him out, at the same time using magic words. [755]

In November, 1920, there occurred an alleged attack by the spirit of a dead man. 753 775

A number of girls from the convent at Maufanga, Tongatabu, were gathering shellfish at Anana, in the lagoon at Tongatabu. One of the girls said that she was attacked by the spirits of three of her deceased relatives, who approached her in a boat while she was standing on the reef. Her symptoms were bleeding from the nose and cramps in the legs, and she declared that her deceased mother's brother, David Alatoa, struck her on the nose. The attack was of course not seen by her companions.

Mr. W. H. Murley relates the following: 763 775

A man from Vavau, a short time ago, died suddenly in a village called Fakakakai in Haapai from hemorrhage of the lungs. A man from the village came into the store on the day he died and was discussing the matter with a woman from here (Pukotala) in the course of which she said that he (the deceased) might have been struck by evil spirits and then enquired if he had any relatives buried here. The answer was that his mother had died in Fakakakai, on hearing this the woman immediately said, "There, that is the reason of his sudden death." [165]

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Hapai islands, when he received his long 634
wished-for present; but he made no use of it 223
till about three weeks afterwards, when he had
returned to Vavaoo. In the mean time Mac- 669
capapa, Lolo hea Bibigi, and three others, all
chiefs and warriors, secretly left Vavaoo, and
sailed for Tonga, to join Taky', chief of the
fortress of Bea (who formerly burnt Finow's
fortress of Nioocalofa in so treacherous a manner). They took this step, being apprehensive
that the king might hereafter wreak his vengeance on them for fighting against him: the
sequel will show how far their apprehensions
were well grounded.

Whilst Finow was yet at the Hapai islands, 313
Mr. Mariner accompanied the prince to the 727
island of Tofooa, to procure iron-wood, which
is found there in great abundance. The prince 313
first obtained leave from Tooitonga, (the divine 634
chief,) for this island is his property, and 778
therefore considered sacred; besides, it is supposed to be the residence of the sea gods, and 825
on this account the people firmly believe that
no sharks will hurt a man who is swimming
near upon its coast, but, on the contrary, swim
round him, and even pass so close as to touch
him, without shewing the least hungry disposition. Mr. Mariner, however, never had an [727]

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319 opportunity of witnessing the miraculous abstinence
634 of this sort of fish.

778 On the island of Tofooa there is a small volcano,
825 situated near the northern extremity,
727 from which smoke almost constantly issues, and
pumice-stones are very frequently thrown out.
133 An eruption of flame takes place, sometimes
twice or thrice a week, and at other times
scarcely once in two months, and generally
133 lasts from one to two or three days. The way
727 to the top is extremely difficult; but Mr. Mariner,
taking one of the natives of the island
for a guide, resolved to ascend it. They began
the ascent early in the morning, and, although
their progress was much impeded by the quantity
of loose pumice-stone, and often rendered
very dangerous, they reached the top in about
four hours. There was at this time no eruption
of flame, which had ceased a few hours
before, after having lasted three days; smoke
there was, however, in abundance, but which
did not much annoy them, as they were on the
windward side: sundry explosions were also
heard from within, like the noise of water
being thrown upon burning pitch. The crater
133 was about thirty feet diameter. Whilst they
727 were here, Mr. Mariner took care not to let
578 his companion approach too near, lest he might

cocoa-nut trees in abundance; the soil is also 134
highly favourable for the cultivation of yams, 241
which grow there larger than in most other
places. The water which terminates it at one 136
end is noted for the vast abundance of a peculiar
fish which resort to the shores of Vavaoo
about the month of July. This fish they call
Ooloo Caoo, and is about the size of the common
sprat, and of much the same shape and
hue. The common people consider it a great 262
delicacy, but there is considerable danger of 164
being poisoned by eating them promiscuously, 165
for here and there is found one which, on eating, 565
produces the most alarming and sometimes 825
the most fatal effects*; and as there is no mark
by which these poisonous ones may be known,
it is always dangerous to eat of them, unless
they be procured in the rocky bay of this plantation,
where, they say, they never found any
poisonous, and therefore partake of them without
any reserve: the chiefs however seldom touch
them, unless perhaps there is a scarcity of other
fish. The time when they are best and in 226
the greatest plenty is in the latter end of the 285

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* The symptoms produced are headach, nausea, vomiting, and diarrhœa, with violent pains in the bowels, to which death generally succeeds in the course of four or five hours. The only remedy they use (which very seldom succeeds) is to cause the patient to drink abundantly of water, or, what is considered still better, the milk of young cocoa-nuts. 152

721 stantly pulled his legs out straight: he then presented his musket to the other two, who appeared somewhat panic-struck, and threatened to blow out their brains if they did not instantly obey his orders, and pull towards the vessel. They accordingly put about, and made towards her. The one that Mr. Mariner wounded was a piece of a warrior, but the other two had never been in battle, and, as he supposes, did not know but what he could fire off his musket as often as he pleased without loading it: be this as it may, they were now perfectly obedient, and he encouraged them farther, by reminding them that they had a good excuse to make to their chiefs, since it was by compulsion, and not by will, that they acted. In the mean time, he kept a strict eye both upon them and the man in the bottom of the canoe; upon those, lest they should take an opportunity to upset the canoe, and swim to the shore, with which they were well acquainted, and upon this, lest he should recover and attempt the same thing, or else make an unexpected attack: fortunately he did not stir the whole night*. They did not come up with the vessel till about daylight next morning, owing to the distance they had to go,

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825 784 * It may be remarked, also, that this was the season for sharks, and their consciences, probably, were not quite clear from having infringed some prohibition or another, in consequence of which, according to their notions, they were liable to be devoured by sharks.

8. That all *egi* or nobles have souls, which exist 771
hereafter in Bolotoo, not according to their 775
moral merit, but their rank in this world, 565
and then they have power similar to the
original gods, but less. The matabooles also go to Bolotoo after death, where they exist as matabooles or ministers to the gods, but they have not the power of inspiring priests: the mooas, according to the belief of some, also go to Bolotoo, but this is a matter of great doubt. But the tooas, or lower class of people, have no souls, or such only as dissolve with the body after death, which consequently ends their sentient existence.

9. That the human soul during life is not a dis- 771
tinct essence from the body, but only the 774
more etherial part of it, and which exists in 775
Bolotoo, in the form and likeness of the body,
the moment after death.

10. That the primitive gods and deceased no- 771
bles sometimes appear (visibly) to mankind, 776
to warn or to afford comfort and advice: that 787
the primitive gods also sometimes come into 825
the living bodies of lizards, porpoises, and a species of water snake, hence these animals are much respected; their coming into porpoises is supposed to be for the purpose of taking care of vessels, &c.

11. That the two personages at the Tonga 771 776 643 565

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perpetrator; theft, except it be consecrated 771
property. [673]

16. Omens are considered direct indications of
the gods to mankind : charms or superstitious [787]
ceremonies to bring evil upon any one are [789]
considered for the most part infallible, as being generally effective means to dispose the gods to accord with the curse or evil wish of the malevolent invoker; to perform these charms is considered cowardly and unmanly, but does not constitute a crime.

The Tonga people universally and positively 772
believe in the existence of a large island, lying [775]
at a considerable distance to the north-westward
of their own islands, which they consider to be
the place of residence of their gods, and of the
souls of their nobles and matabooles. This [824]
island is supposed to be much larger than all [825]
their own islands put together, to be well stocked with all kinds of useful and ornamental plants, always in a state of high perfection, and always bearing the richest fruits and the most beautiful flowers according to their respective natures; that when these fruits or flowers are plucked, others immediately occupy their place, and that the whole atmosphere is filled with the most delightful fragrance that the imagination can conceive, proceeding from these immortal plants;

772 the island is also well stocked with the most 824 beautiful birds of all imaginable kinds, as well 825 as with abundance of hogs, all of which are immortal, unless they are killed to provide food for the hotooas or gods; but the moment a hog or bird is killed, another living hog or bird immediately comes into existence to supply its place, the same as with the fruits and flowers; and this, as far as they know or suppose, is the only mode of propagation of plants and animals. The island of Bolotoo is supposed to be so far off as to render it dangerous for their canoes to attempt going there, and it is supposed moreover, that even if they were to succeed in reaching so far, unless it happened to be the particular will of the gods, they would be sure to 772 miss it. They give, however, an account of a Tonga canoe, which, on her return from the 773 Fiji islands a long time ago, was driven by stress of weather to Bolotoo: ignorant of the place where they were, and being much in want of provisions,—seeing the country abound in all sorts of fruit, the crew landed, and proceeded to pluck some bread fruit, but to their unspeakable astonishment, they could no more lay hold of it than if it were a shadow; they walked through the trunks of the trees, and passed through the substance of the houses, (which were built like those of Tonga,) without feeling

but this is suspected to be rather a Fiji tale than 773
a tradition of their own, and consequently is [177]
not much believed among them. These immortal
women are considered to be *hotoous*; [776]
but they are thought to have all the passions
and propensities properly belonging to women
of this world, insomuch that it is dangerous
for canoes to put in there; not that the crew
would be positively ill-treated by these fair
goddesses, but too much kindness sometimes
destroys as effectually, though perhaps not so
quickly, as too much severity. It is reported
that a Fiji canoe was once driven there by
a gale of wind: the men landed, and were
charmed with the truly kind reception they
met with; but in a day or two, finding the climate
much too warm for their constitution,
they wisely betook themselves again to their
canoe, and with some difficulty reached the
Fiji islands, bringing sundry marvellous accounts
of the nature of the country, and the reception
they met with. This story is prevalent, 773
not only at Tonga and Fiji, but also at Hamoa 171
(the Navigator's island.) Some of the Fiji
people believe it: the Hamoa people doubt it
very much; and the generality of the Tonga
people deny it altogether.

The natives of the Tonga islands have a traditionary 773
story respecting the origin of turtles; 825

775 825 and as we are here discoursing about their notions of the world, which in some measure involve their knowledge of natural history, it ought properly to be told in this place.

A considerable time after the existence of mankind at Tonga, a certain god, who lived in the sky, and whose name was Langi, received a command from the superior gods of Bolotoo to attend a grand conference, shortly to be held at the latter place, on some point of universal importance. Now it happened that the god Langi had several children*; among others, two daughters, beautiful young goddesses, who were of an age in which vanity and the desire to be admired was beginning to be a very strong passion, and consequently they had often expressed their wish to see the islands of Tonga, and to visit the people that dwelt there; but their father was too wise readily to give his consent. Business of importance, however, now demanded his absence from the sky; but being fearful that his inexperienced daughters might in the mean time descend to Tonga, he gave them the strictest commands not to leave their celestial residence till his return; and as a motive for their obedience, he promised to

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[776] * It would appear from this that the gods are supposed to have children, nevertheless Mr. Mariner believes that this is not consistent with the general opinion of the natives.

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conduct them, when he came back, to Tonga; and gratify their wish with safety to themselves. With a view to strengthen his injunctions, and better to ensure their compliance, he represented in lively colours the many dangers they would subject themselves to, by infringing upon his commands: in the first place, he told them that the Hotooa Pow (mischievous gods), who resided at Tonga, would take every opportunity to molest them, and to throw difficulties and dangers in their way. Besides which, there were other evils of greater consequence to fear; for they were so beautiful (he told them), that the men of Tonga would furiously fight among themselves to obtain them for their wives, and that the quarrels occasioned by them would, no doubt, offend the superior gods of Bolotoo, and he (Langi) should thereby get into disgrace. The two goddesses having promised obedience to their father's orders, he descended with speed to Bolotoo. He had scarcely left the sky, when they began to reason together on what he had told them: one said to the other, our father has only promised to take us to Tonga that he may keep us here till he come back; for has he not often promised us the same thing and never fulfilled his word? True; said the other, let us go to Tonga by ourselves for a little time, just to look at the *máma* people,

773 and we will return before he shall know any
825 thing of it; besides, (said both of them together) has he not told us that we are more beautiful than the women of Tonga? Yes! let us go immediately to Tonga and be admired, for in the sky there are many other goddesses nearly as beautiful as ourselves, and we are scarcely noticed. Upon this they descended together to the island of Tonga, and, having alighted in a lonely place, they walked towards the *mooa*, discoursing as they went on the homage that was soon to be paid to their charms. When they arrived at the *mooa*, they found the king and all his chiefs and principal people engaged in some grand ceremony of rejoicing, and were then drinking their cava. The moment they arrived all eyes were turned upon them, and all hearts, except those that envied, were filled with admiration and love. The young chiefs vied with each other in showing them the most signal attentions*; they already began to be

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171 * It is not the least remarkable trait in the character of the Tonga people, that on almost all occasions they shew very marked attention to females; and we believe that among all the different clusters of islands in the South Seas, the natives of these are singular in this respect. The women of Tonga are not obliged to labour to procure the necessaries of life for their idle husbands: the men work; the women do chiefly those offices that are requisite for domestic comfort, and for the promotion of health and cleanliness,

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jealous of each other; they left off drinking cava, and the whole assembly was put in confusion. At length the young men began to quarrel among themselves, but the king, to settle all disputes, by virtue of his superior power took them home to his own residence: the sun had scarcely set, however, before certain chiefs, with a strong armed force, rescued them from the king's house: the whole island was soon in a state of confusion and alarm, and early the following morning a bloody war was commenced. In the mean time the gods of Bolotoo heard what was going forward at Tonga, and they immediately with great indignation charged poor Langi with being the cause of these disturbances: this god said in his defence, that he had ordered his daughters to remain at home, but unfortunately they were disobedient children. He immediately left the synod of gods, and flew with all speed to Tonga, where he found that one of his daughters, by having eaten of the productions of the place, had deprived herself of immortality, and was already dead. The loss of his daughter enraged him to the utmost extreme; he sought for the other, and, seizing her by the hair, he severed her head from her body: the head he threw into the sea, and flew, with rage and disappointment, back to the sky. The head in a short

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773 time turned into a turtle, and was the origin and source of all the turtle now found in the
825 world.

This story obtains almost universal credit at
262 the Tonga islands; in consequence, turtles are
784 considered as almost a prohibited food, at least
[753] very few will venture to eat them without first offering a portion to some god, or sending some to any chief that may be at hand: and there are many that will not eat turtle on any account, being fearful of its producing enlarged livers, or some such visceral complaint. It is not supposed, however, to be so likely to have a bad effect upon great chiefs, as they approach so near in rank and character to the gods themselves.

Such are their principal notions respecting
773 the origin of things. As to the first formation of the solid sky (as they deem it), or the island of Bolotoo, or the gods themselves, they pretend to form no idea, and never think of agitating the question, whether they are eternal, or whether they had a beginning, deeming all such speculations as vain and fruitless; for who, say they, can remember, or who has been
[538] there to see? They have no legends or tales
[171] that seem to resemble those of the Society islands, as related by Captain Cook.

823 Respecting the earth, their notion is, that it

As it is
forbidden to quarrel or fight upon consecrated 784
ground, so fighting in such a place would be 778
said to be *táboo,* and those that fought would 578
be said also to be *táboo*; and a man who is thus 782
táboo would have to make some sacrifice to the 783
gods as an atonement for the sacrilege, as instanced in Palavali's case. (See Vol. I. p. 216.)
If a man be guilty of theft, or any crime what- 784
soever, he is said to have broken the *táboo;* and 685
as all such persons are particularly supposed 825
liable to be bitten by sharks, an awkward mode 695
of discovering a thief is founded upon this notion, by making all the suspected persons go
into the water, where sharks frequent, and he
who is bitten or devoured is looked upon as
the guilty person. If any one touches a supe- 784
rior chief, or superior relation, or any thing [576]
immediately belonging to him, he *táboos* himself; but this is not supposed to produce any
bad consequence, unless he feeds himself with
his own hands, without first removing this
táboo, which is to be done by performing the
ceremony of *möë-möë,* directly to be explained.
If a person touches the body of a dead chief, [761]
or any thing personally belonging to him, he
becomes *taboo,* and time alone can relieve him.
(See note, Vol. I. p. 141.) Certain kinds of [262]
food, as turtle, and a certain species of fish,
from something in their nature, are said to be

degree of credit, and charms, which they sometimes 787
practise, are more or less connected with
their religion, we shall say something of them,
before concluding the present subject. Most
of their omens we have already had occasion to
mention, and have given instances of in the
course of the narrative. As to dreams, (see [828]
Vol. I. chap. 4 and 14.) Thunder and lightning [821]
(same vol. chap. 12 and 14.) Sneezing [827]
(same vol. chap. 14.) These omens obtain almost
universal credit; and they are thought to
be direct indications from the gods of some
event that is about to happen. There is a certain 787
species of bird which they call *chicota'*, 825
which is very apt to make a sudden descent,
and dart close by one, making a shrieking
noise: this bird they suppose to be endowed
with a knowledge of futurity, and they consider
this action to be a warning of some evil that is
about to happen.

As Mr. Mariner was once going out with the 787
present king, and a party of men, upon some 825
excursion against the enemy, one of these birds 727
made a sudden descent, passed over their heads,
settled on a tree, passed over their heads again,
and again settled; upon which the majority,
not excepting the king, were for returning immediately;
but Mr. Mariner laughed at their
superstition, and, to prove that the bird had no

787 great insight into matters of futurity, he shot
825 it with his musket: but, however, this did not
727 prevent them from going back to their garrison; and several had a full conviction that Mr. Mariner would soon be killed for this sacrilege.

754 In respect to the charms practised among them, we have also a few words to say. The principal is that called *tatáo*, which has already
[787] been described, Vol. I. chap. 14.[A] There are
only two other practices which can well come
[755] under this head, viz. *cábe*, or rather *vangi*, which means a curse, or a malevolent order or command; and *ta nioo*, a charm to discover whether a sick person will live or die. Of the former, viz. *cábe*, we have given instances (Vol. I. p. 284), from which it will appear that they are chiefly malevolent wishes, or commands, that the object may eat, or otherwise maltreat his relations or gods; and when we come to reflect that they believe in no future place of punishment, but that all human evils are the consequences of crimes, and that disrespect to one's superior relations is little short of sacrilege to the gods, these malevolent commands, however ridiculous some of them may appear to us, amount to the most horrible curses; for if such commands were fulfilled, nothing less than the most dreadful of human miseries would be ex-

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[A] [See 2: Mariner, category 116, pp. 424-425--Analyst] ki lotoa a Ngana o mau a Hina pea nau ofo hake oku fai katoanga ae lotoa kuo mole ae fefine naa nau folau ki ai kuo mau e Ngana!

Nae teu leva ae folau ke foki mai kuo nau lili kia Ngana. Pea fai. Pea pehe e Hina kia Ngana, "Kapau teu atu ha kie e popo pea ne ongo pe koeha ka e mole pe. Oku ai eku ika koe atu, teu atu ia ke ke alu mo koe, e ta ia i ho fonua pea e ikai fai he tau kotoa, ka e fakahili tau e taha pe ua nai. Ko hono uhinga eku fai pehe ke toutou langai hoo manatu mai. Ka iloange kuou kamata ngalo pea ka fotu atu ae atu te ke toe manatu mai leva i he ha atu eku ika."

Nae tuku mai ae vaka, pea lele mai leva ae ongo foi atu o alu pe i olovaha. Faifai pea nau feunga moe motu ko Ofolanga pea fekau e he taokete ke hopo a Ngana o kakau mo ene Fisi ki Haano. Naa na hopo leva o kakau, pea lele mai ae ongo ika o nau o hake. Nae vave ae kakau a Ngana o ne tuuta, kae tomui sii Fisi o ne mate, kuo mei ofi ki uta. Nae toki manatu a Ngana ki he Fisi o ne hifo ki tahi ke vakai, ta ko sii Fisi ena kuo mate. Talu ai moe ui ae afua nae ilo ai ko Maukuomate. Nae hingoa ae fanga nae hake ai ae atu ko Aleipata koe tauhingoa ki Haamoa.

Nae tuku e Ngana ae tauhi oe atu ki he famili naa ne nofo ai i Haano. Koe faahikehe oe famili ko Haveatoke, naa ne vaka aki ae toke. Oku kei ha pe ae toke oka hau ae atu. Ka hau ae atu nae alu ae folau o tuku mai aki pe ae fohe ki uta, pea toki omi ae ngahi fakahaatuia o puipui aki. Ko hono puke e ikai faiaki ha kupenga, koe hau pe; pea fakahake foki ki uta. Nae tufa e Ngana ae inasi o pehe: "Koe ika e hake ki he oneone koe inasi ia ia o houeiki he kuo ha ki he mo noa, koe mea e mau i tahi e taki taha mau pe ene fangota. E tapu aupito ke hau ki ai ae houeiki o Haano, he koe ika toongapo, pea oka ikai ke kau ai

servant back to tell Ngana to come to 539
her enclosure. His older brother (Tata- 173
fumeimua) was very sleepy from his
long and useless vigil and did not 644
know when Ngana entered the enclosure and took possession of Hina; [643]
and when he awoke the entertainment
was going on in the enclosure, but the
woman he had come to win was lost
to him, because Ngana had taken her!

The voyagers prepared to return (to Tonga) as they were angry with Ngana. And they prepared. And Hina said to Ngana, "If I give you a fine mat it will rot, and it does not matter what I give you it will be lost. But there is my fish the bonito, which I will give to you to take, and it will breed in your land—not every year, but every alternate year or perhaps every third year. The reason I do this is to revive your remembrance of me. If you are beginning to forget, you will remember me as soon as you see the fish."

The vessel departed, and the two bonitos came and swam and followed. As soon as they reached the island of Ofolanga the older brother ordered Ngana to jump overboard and swim with his Fijian to Haano. They jumped and swam and the two fishes went with them. Ngana swam quickly and landed, but the poor Fijian was slow and died when he was very near to land. Ngana remembered his Fijian afterwards and went back to the beach to see if he had landed, and there was the poor Fijian dead. Ever since that the place has been called Maukuomate (found when dead). The beach to which the bonitos come is called Aleipata, a name from Samoa.

Ngana gave the bonito to a family
at Haano to look after. The god of
the family is called Haveatoke, and his
incarnation (literally, vessel) was the
eel. Even at the present time when 539
an eel appears a bonito follows. When
the bonitos come, a vessel goes and 825
brings them in with a paddle to the
shore, then the people bring coconut [226]
leaves and screen them off. When captured they are not taken with a net,
for they come of their own accord even
to the shore. Ngana apportioned them 539
thus: "The fish that come up on the
sand are the portion of the chiefs for it 173
is seen that they are a present, but of
those taken in the sea, each person has 644

539 173 644 [784] ha niihi kehe, koe mea pe ae eva mo hono kau tangata.”

539 784 825 Kuo maumau ae ngahi lao koia pea oku ikai kei siga ae atu he kuo feinga ae houeiki niihi ke fakasio ki ai, pea ke hange ko ha mea fakakolo ae toongapo a sii Hina ki siono so oona pe. Kae kehe koe toongapo hono hingoa aia koe pehe koe “toonga-oe-po” pea koe mea oku fai fakalilolilo pe oua e uiaki fano i hala. Nae faifai pea hulu ae atu pea tau aki e he kakai hange ha tau moli. Ko hono uhinga ia oe lea “Tauakiatu.” Koe liuaki ae atu koe mea malohi tokua pea ko Tupou I. 539 173 koe eiki ngu lahi pea ne faa hohaa i he lau ki he malohi oe atu i Haano i he tau e taha, pea ne mea hifo ki tahi ke sivi ae malohi oe louaki oe atu. Koe kemo kuo ne mei au ki he Hakautuaniu aia koe lua oku tuu mamao mo uta: pea toki alu ha vaka o omi.

what he catches. It is very tapu for the chiefs of Haano to come to see the bonito, because it is a fish given in remembrance, and no one has anything to do with it, except the wooer and his own men.”

The laws are all broken and now the bonito catch is poor as the chiefs want to look at it, and to make a town affair of the gift which Hina gave as a remembrance to her own lover. Anyway its name is *toongapo*, which is to say “toonga-oe-po” (ceremony-of-the-night), and it is ordained that it is not to be talked about in the road. This is done lest the bonitos come in such numbers that they would be dried like oranges. That is the connotation of the word *tauakiatu* (the war with bonitos). The return of the bonitos is very strong and it is said that Tupou I. a chief of great might was restless when the strength of the bonitos at Haano was talked about one year, so he went down to the sea to test the power of the return rush of the bonito. In a minute he nearly reached the reef called Reef-ribs-of-coconut-leaves, which stands far from land; a vessel had to go out and bring him back.

NGANATATAFU BRINGS THE BONITO TO HAANO[44]

(A Variant)

539 173 643 In Samoa, in the distant past, lived a village virgin, named Hina, of surpassing beauty. So great was her beauty that it was even spoken of in Tonga. The Tui Tonga heard of her beauty and he determined to go to Samoa and bring her back to Tonga as one of his wives.

The Tui Tonga started from Tongatabu, but on the way put in at Haano. There he took on board his boat a chief called Nganatatafu and his two *matapules* or attendants. On their arrival at the village where the virgin Hina lived, the Tui Tonga ordered Nganatatafu to remain on board and on no account to go ashore without his permission. As Nganatatafu was the handsomest man in all Tonga, the Tui Tonga feared that if he went ashore Hina would prefer him.

So the Tui Tonga and his attendants went up into the village and were welcomed by the Samoans, who made much of them, bringing them kava to drink and catching bonitos for them to eat. At that time the bonito was unknown in Tonga.

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[44] Recorded by W. H. Murley, of Pangai, Lifuka Island, Haapai.

539 his best, as they had not far to go, but when they were close to a sandy
173 point, Nganatatafu saw that Fisiu was floating dead. He pulled him up on
the sandy beach and exclaimed: "Alas, what a disaster, brought up dead!"
To this day that sandy point is called Maumate (Brought-up-dead).

539 Hina was true to her promise, for once a year the bonito come very
close to Haano, almost onto the beach. This is reputed to be the only place
825 in Tonga where this fish comes close to shore. But should Tui Haangana
[173] (the lord of Haano) make his appearance on the beach whilst the fish are
coming in, they will straightway retreat and not return for a year, for
Tui Haangana is a descendant of Nganatatafu.

THE TWENTY-THIRD TUI TONGA, TAKALAUA, AND VAE[47]

539 There was a Tui Tonga named Takalaua, and his wife was Vaelavea-
173 mata, a woman of Ata, and child of a couple. It is related that when she
644 was born, she had a head like a pigeon. Because of this, her parents took a dislike to her, left her on the island of Ata, and sailed away. After they had departed, a man named Ahe chanced to pass and found the child in the bush. He noticed it had a head like a pigeon, but he nevertheless took the baby to his wife and said: "Dear, here is a child for us, which I found at the residence of some people who have sailed away." So they cared for the little girl. As she grew she gradually lost the head of the pigeon and her foster parents began to see signs of what a beauty she was going to be. When she grew into womanhood they saw that she was a very beautiful woman. Because of her great beauty they hid her in their store room when anyone approached, for fear that the chiefs would seize her.

One day some of the fishermen of the Tui Tonga, on going to Ata with
their net to catch fish, caught sight of the girl sitting and sunning herself
before her house. She ran into her house, but it was too late, for the
539 fishermen had seen her. On their return to Mua, they informed the Tui
173 Tonga of it, saying that on the island of Ata they had seen a girl who
was unrivaled for beauty. The Tui Tonga ordered that a boat go to Ata
643 and bring her over to Mua (on Tongatabu). The name of the Tui Tonga
644 was Takalaua and the girl who was brought from Ata was known as Vae.

When Vae arrived the Tui Tonga's dancers were dancing the Fijian dance *mee*. The Tui Tonga ordered the girl Vae to be placed in the last row. It was the Tui Tonga himself who was beating the drum. As the dance proceeded, the beating of the drum was very imperfect, for the Tui Tonga was attempting to beat the drum and observe the newcomer at mud shark, guard the shores of Tofua, and help any canoe which might get into a dangerous plight. The narrator tells that to this day, if a boat sinks, it will be taken to the beach by the sharks.

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[47] Recorded in Tongan by the Tamaha Amelia, May 27, 1844. Preserved in the genealogical records of Her Majesty Queen Charlotte Tupou. Translated by Mrs. May Laurence.

TUI TOFUA[59]

Vakafuhu was the father of Tui Tofua. Langitaetaea was his mother, but Vakafuhu had many concubines besides. When Tui Tofua grew up he gathered all the first born males and they habitually played at *sika*, a game in which peeled sticks are slid along the ground.

One day while Vakafuhu was sleeping off the effects of kava, Tui Tofua and his companions were playing *sika*. It chanced that Tui Tofua's stick went so far as Vakafuhu's enclosure. The concubines enjoyed this and seized Tui Tofua's stick, at the same time making a nonsensical chattering as they desired Tui Tofua. The noise made Tui Tofua angry, as his father Vakafuhu was sleeping.

Tui Tofua decided to go on a voyage and never return. So he called his companions together and informed them that they would go on a voyage. They embarked in a canoe named Siivao. They sailed until they reached the northern shore of the island of Kao, which lies north of Tofua island. There Tui Tofua said to his men: "All of you jump into the sea." Tui Tofua ordained that each one should become a shark as soon as he touched the water. His men did as they were ordered and became sharks.

Only Tui Tofua and a Samoan named Faia remained on the canoe. Tui Tofua ordered the Samoan to leap overboard, but he did not relish the metamorphosis, so he voiced his objections, saying: "Who wants to grow up like a shark, be snared in a noose by the crew of a *tafaanga* (large rowing canoe), taken quickly ashore, and then cut to pieces?" So Tui Tofua relented, saying: "Chop off one of your fingers and throw it into the sea and it will become a porpoise." This the Samoan did.

Tui Tofua and the Samoan proceeded towards Tofua in the canoe. When close in shore Tui Tofua instructed the Samoan Faia as follows: "Go and tell my father's people to weave garlands of flowers and repair to the marshy beach of Siuatama." The place where the Samoan landed is called Faia today. After the Samoan had landed he proceeded towards Vakafuhu's place, but when he reached a small water (well?) he fell exhausted. He rested there awhile and let the blood drip from his finger. The water hole is today known as Vaivaia (exhausted). Finally he reached the town of Tofua and delivered Tui Tofua's message.

The people did as they were bid and went down to the marshy beach of Siuatama. When they reached the sea there were a number of sharks

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[59] Told by Moungatonga, formerly of Fotuhaa island, but in 1920 residing in Pangai, Lifuka island, Haapai.

539 Tui Tofua ensconced in his cave with his mouth wide open all ready to swallow Fakapatu. Fakapatu was frightened and turned himself into a small fish called *meai*. He now tried to enter his cave but could not, so he entered Tui Tofua's wide-open mouth.

Down he went into Tui Tofua's stomach, where he proceeded to enlarge himself, much to Tui Tofua's discomfort. Tui Tofua felt very uncomfortable and realized that his opponent must be inside of him. The suffering caused by his continually swelling belly rendered Tui Tofua quite willing to grant any demand that Fakapatu might make, but Fakapatu kept silence and devoted all of his attention to growing large in Tui Tofua's stomach.

Tui Tofua began to fear for his life and inquired what he should do to be rid of his tormentor. He offered lands, but Fakapatu kept silence. "Perhaps you would like me to make a reef from Moungaone to Ofolanga, so that your people can walk to Ofolanga. Of course, though, there will be sharks beside the reef which will bite people who fall off of it." Still Fakapatu said nothing. Tui Tofua, now in great agony, made yet another offer: "I will see that the sharks molest none of your people when they are on the sea travelling from island to island." This offer satisfied Fakapatu and so he reduced himself in size and left Tui Tofua's stomach. [825] That explains why the sharks, which are under the dominion of Tui Tofua, do not bite the Moungaone people.

WHY MOUNGAONE PEOPLE NEED NOT FEAR SHARKS[44]

(A Variant)

In the dim distant ages, long ago, there dwelt in Tofua a giant, whose name was Taufatahi, from whom is descended the line of chiefs known as Taufa Tofua. Taufatahi heard of another giant called Fakapatu, who lived on the island of Moungaone (or Sandy Hill). He determined to visit this giant in order that they might have a trial and determine who was the cleverer and the stronger.

Fakapatu was living in a cave in Moungaone and when he heard that Taufatahi was near, he opened his mouth so wide that it looked like the entrance of the cave. Taufatahi in his search for Fakapatu came to this cave and was about to enter, but on looking more closely he noticed that it had a peculiar appearance. So he beat a hasty retreat. Then he called out: "Fakapatu, come out and we will see who is the cleverer." Then Fakapatu shut his mouth and came out of the cave.

Taufatahi suddenly transformed himself into a very small fish and asked Fakapatu if he were able to do the same. By way of reply Fakapatu simply shook his head. Taufatahi then reappeared as his natural self, when suddenly Fakapatu disappeared altogether, but simultaneously Taufatahi felt something in his stomach. 539 Then gradually his belly swelled and swelled and swelled. He thought it could only be Fakapatu, so he called out in great distress: "Fakapatu, please stop. My stomach is bursting. If you have any love for me, do cease." Yet still his belly continued to swell until he was really in imminent danger of bursting. Groaning with pain, poor Taufatahi cried: "Fakapatu, stop. Please stop. I will give you anything you like. You may have all my lands, in fact anything you ask for, if you will only let me live."

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[44] Recorded by W. H. Murley, of Pangai, Lifuka island, Haapai.

Fakapatu called out in reply: "I do not want your lands. You may keep them, but there is one thing you must do. You are lord of the fishes and you must give my people of Moungaone perfect immunity from the bites of fishes, from Tofua to Fiji and Samoa, so that should any of my people swim in those waters, they will meet with no harm from the fishes." Taufatahi was only too glad to escape so easily and at once acquiesced to Fakapatu's demand. Fakapatu came out of his stomach and allowed Taufatahi to return to Tofua without doing him further harm.

Any Moungaone man will tell you that the people of his island can [825] swim outside of the reefs in perfect security and that no fish will harm him, for did not Fakapatu beat Taufatahi?

THE ORIGIN OF THE FISH GOD SEKETOA[63]

Seketoa was a man who became a fish endowed with immortality. His home is the sea about the islands of Keppel (Niuatoputapu) and Boscawen (Tafahi). His transformation came about in the following manner.

One of the younger sons of Puakatefisi, the first of the present line of rulers of Niuatoputapu who bear the title of Maatu, was born of a concubine named Falefehi. He, in turn, had two sons, Moimoi and Seketoa, who both lived in Niuatoputapu. Moimoi was the elder and consequently superior to his brother in rank. Both lived under the rule of Maatu, the lord of Niuatoputapu, whose wishes they carried out.

Moimoi in time became jealous of his younger brother, because he imagined that Maatu preferred Seketoa. Moimoi finally decided to murder his younger brother, and so he sent for him to come to his house. Seketoa obeyed the summons and sat down outside of Moimoi's house. He sat cross-legged with his head bowed and hands clasped in front of him to show his humility before his older brother. He realized that Moimoi had designs against his life.

"Come here inside the doorway," said Moimoi; but Seketoa did not move. "Tell me your commands and I will depart," said Seketoa. Again

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[63] Told by the late John Panuve Maatu, lord of Niuatoputapu.

539 The name of the cave was Lokofa and it was situated on the island of Nuku. Upon finding her school of mullet gone, Hava pulled forward the island of Mokohunu and she also pulled forth the island of Kanatea (in the Bay of Pea, Tongatabu) to block her escaping fish, but it was too late for they had gone. Then she ran and pulled forward Lokupo and also pulled forward Nukuhua to stop her fish. This, too, was without effect. Again she hastened forward and pulled forth Kaunga and also Houmaniu, but it was useless. Still she hurried on and pulled forth Fonuaeiki and she also pulled forth Angina, but without avail, for she could not halt the fish. Next she pulled forward Toa and at the same time she drew forth Faihavata, yet she could not head off the fish. She again ran forward and tried to block the fleeing fish by placing Muihaaloausi and also Umusi in their path. Once again she tried to head them off by placing Mataaho and Talakite in the center of the passage, but the fish separated into two schools and passed on either side. Then Hava realized that it was impossible for her to stop them, so she stood in Mataaho and shouted to Nukunukumotu and Fasia, which are situated in the passage connecting the great lagoon of Tongatabu with the ocean. She called upon these islands to stop her fish, but in vain.

In her chagrin, Hava jumped into the lagoon at Palalafa and turned herself into a stone. When Ila realized that she had done wrong in so carelessly releasing the fish, she threw her basket of fish away. Then she ran forth, jumped into the lagoon near Hava and, like her, turned into
539 stone. They are both still standing in the passage at Palalafa. When the
825 mullet leave the lagoon of Tongatabu they go aground, while one small fish leaps the barrier and obtains permission at Lokofa for the school to depart. When the messenger returns the schools of mullet can pass on their way. This habit is still continued by the mullet, the fish of Hava.

539 KOE TALANOA KI TUPUANGA OE ESI KO KAFOA

Koe ongo tangata tokua mei Tonga ko Kafoa mo Talau. Pea na fekau mei ai kia Tumato mo Veahuluvao, koe ongo tangata Haakalua, kena o hake o too manu, kae ikai tena. Pea faifai pea na toki folau ai, pea tolu mahina pe pea na toe hola mai.

THE ORIGIN OF THE ARTIFICIAL MOUND KAFOA[18]

It is said there were two men from Tonga called Kafoa (wounded) and Talau (*ta*, hit; *lau*, speak). And there came a message from there to Tumato (*tuma*, slow, applied to a vessel; *to*, falls, beaten) and Veahuluvao (the clearing lightens the bush), two men of Haakalua, for them to go over (to Tonga) and catch birds, and they did not (want to go). And after some time they sailed there (to Tonga), and after three months they ran away and came back.

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[18] Recorded by Mrs. Rachel Tonga. Translated by Miss Beatrice Shirley Baker.

was able to live there. The rat, however, was in imminent danger of 539
drowning, but seeing a passing octopus, called out to it to save him. The octopus replied: "Get on one of my tentacles," but the rat said: "No, I am afraid of the suckers." So the octopus told him to climb on his head.

On the way to shore the rat urinated and defecated continually, but the octopus did not know it. On nearing the shore, the octopus said: "Jump ashore." The rat objected: "Not yet, the water is still too deep." The obliging octopus crawled up almost to the dry sand, so that the rat could get ashore without wetting his feet. The rat jumped ashore without thanking his rescuer and shouted: "Octopus! octopus! Feel what is on your head." The octopus did as he was bid and found a little heap of rat dung on his head, which made him exceedingly wroth.

From that day to this, the octopus has held the rat in detestation. 539
Whenever it sees a rat, its anger is at once aroused and it makes a rush 825
to catch it in its tentacles. The Tongans, knowing this, make with a
stone, two large cowry shells, and a twig, a crude resemblance of a rat, 539
which they dangle in the water as a lure. The object is called a *makafeke* 825
(octopus stone). Should an octopus be within sight, it makes a rush at 226
the imitation rat. It is undeceived only when it is dragged to the surface
and receives a smart blow on the head with a stick,or a bite just below its
head.

THE ANT AND THE RAT[133]

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It is said that the ant and the rat were once friends. During the warm weather the rat came to see the provision the ant was making for the cold season. He came at the time that the plantain was ripe. Now in olden times the plantain was hollow in the middle, and when it was ripe its interior was sweet. The Tongan expression about a plantain of this sort is, "Its core is gathered."

When the rat came to his friends, the ants, they were inside eating the
sweet portion. The rat begged them to give him a piece, but his friends paid no
heed and went on eating themselves. The rat was angry and he took a
piece of rat's excrement and stopped up the end of the plantain, so that his
friends were smothered and died. Nowadays if you split a plantain down [824]
you will find its core like a lot of ants and a thing like rat's excrement at
the end.

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[133] Recorded by E. E. V. Collocott, of Nukualofa, Tongatabu.

open outlook upon the sea, may have suggested association with the rising 776 moon. 823

OTHER STORIES OF EUA

Kaufana was adopted by his contemporary, the Tui Kanokupolu Tukuaho, 539 who was murdered in the year 1799. (See 28, vol. 1, p. 81.) Kaufana successfully resisted the blind old king Talimalolo, who was chief of the fortress Tutaki, and notoriously cruel. Talimalolo constantly ordered people to be put to death, especially those who showed energy and initiative. Kaufana, therefore, who belonged to the chief's family, removed with some of the people and founded the fortress Hehu. One day Manumua (so named [551] because he was born at the time of night when the bird *manumua* commences to sing) came from Talimalolo's fortress on a friendly visit to Kaufana, who detained him, and would not let him return. War resulted between Kaufana and Talimalolo, and the blind old despot was defeated. By this victory Kaufana made himself master of a large part of Eua. Although he saved Eua from the cruelty of Talimalolo, Kaufana himself was harsh and tyrannical. One of his methods of torturing prisoners was to cause his attendants to urinate on their wounds. Besides military prowess and valor, Kaufana had some measure of the constructive ability that seeks to increase the amenities of life. He supplied his dwelling with water by means of a race from the stream Vaiangana.

On the weather side of Eua were Fangata and Halafata, two villages or fortresses, now deserted. Fangata was the fortress of the noted warrior, Kaufana; and Halafata was situated just below. During a war between the two villages, the men of Halafata used to insult Fangata by stooping down and presenting their posteriors to the rival fortress. One day, as a Halafata man was making this offensive gesture, a Fangata marksman avenged the insult by shooting an arrow which penetrated the victim's anus and stuck out of his mouth.

Lakufaanga (Place of throwing hala) is immediately at the top of a 539 great cliff falling sheer into deep sea. 823 Here once lived Tuakauia and his family. They ate fruit of the hala and threw the inedible hard cores into the sea. The turtles in the sea at this place now are Tuakauia and his 539 family, and if hala fruit is thrown over the cliff, with appropriate invocation, 825 the turtles come to the surface and eat it. The invocation is a couplet:

Tuakauia and family
Receive the gifts that are sent.

It is a matter of observation, however, that the turtles are not always responsive.

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

When the chiefs returned to the house they noticed the stench, and the 539
Tui Tonga remarked that this was the work of the man they had seen at 823
the pool. In the morning he sent a messenger bidding the man come to him at once; but Hauuta, disobeying the summons, collected his men, and set to work with them clearing the side of the road that led from Fahefa. Thus, whilst ostensibly working, they were able to command the road. Hauuta's orders were, that if anyone came along the road who belonged to Hihifo, he must not be molested; but if anyone came from the party of travelling chiefs[*] he should be taken and killed. A man came along the road, and then a second; but neither of them belonged to the Tui Tonga's party. Then a third came, one of the Tui Tonga's men. Him [103]
they slew, and carried away; and when they had heated an oven they baked him, and it is said that he is still being baked. So that place is called Umutangata (oven, or meal, of man).

Pot-holes in some rocks at the extreme west of Tongatabu are ascribed to a Tui Tonga, who stood there giving his commands, and who, as he uttered his behests, kept smiting the rock with his staff. On another part of the coast of Tongatabu is a hole in a rock where the legendary hero Tui Motuliki, son of Sinailele, drove in a stake to which to moor his boat.

On the sea flats near Hofoa, in Tongatabu, is an isolated rock, considerably eroded at the base, called Moa (fowl). It is said that a fowl 539
and a turtle (*fonu*) ran a race on the flats. The fowl was turned into 823
the rock, and the turtle was turned into a pool a short distance away. 825

THE POOL HAAHAU

Haahau is a little pool in Felemea, in the island of Uiha in Haapai. 539
This pool was a love gift from a god, or spirit, of Eua to a woman of 823
Felemea. The god ordered the well to be dug close to a chestnut tree 773
(ifi, *Inocarpus edulis*). It was covered with the shell of a *kema*, and the god warned the people that whenever they drew water they should carefully replace the shell when they had finished. This was always done, until, in more recent days, people said that covering the well-mouth with the shell was merely a piece of old-time foolishness. So the shell was thrown away; but after a few months the water, which had been perfectly sweet, became bitter, and has remained so ever since. At times the water is red, a sign that the woman of long-ago, to whom the well was a love gift, is about to give birth to a child.

THE WELL VEEMUMUNI

The well[1] Veemumuni in Vavau once belonged to a spirit. Nearby was the garden of a man, and the spirit used to lift the stone with which the

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539 well was covered, and sit at the water's edge, watching the man at his
823 work. One day the man noticed the spirit, and approached the well, but
as he drew near the spirit disappeared into the water, and covered it with
773 the rock. The man returned to his work, but presently he saw the spirit again sitting at the water's edge. He approached, but once more the spirit eluded him. This happened three times, and so the man knew that the stranger was a spirit. Then he took off his turban and girdle of leaves, and put them on a tree to make it look like a man, while he crept round to the place toward which the spirit had turned his back as he sat by the water. Presently the spirit came to view again, and the man sprang upon him, and held him fast until he begged for mercy, and promised to give the man his well. Since then the well has been uncovered, and the stone with which it was covered is still left lying beside it.

The Cave Tapingaamama

539 Tapingaamama (Human affairs, manners) is the name of a cave, in
823 Tefisi in Vavau, through the walls of which there is considerable soakage.
773 Two spirits, or demons (*tevolo*) live there, one being a *toke* (eel). A
stranger once left his *vala* (kilt) in the cave while he went to bathe, and
825 when he came back he found the *vala* folded up with a rat inside it. The
[403] rat also was a *tevolo*, presumably the second spirit of the cave. Many
[266] people are said to have been lost through the cannibals who lived there.

RELATIONS WITH PULOTU

Road to Pulotu

Gifford (22, p. 153), has published a number of stories relating to
775 journeys to Pulotu, abode of Hikuleo and of the souls of chiefs, an island somewhere out to the northwest, in which are Pukolea (Speaking-puko-tree) able to confer limitless favors, and the Vaiola (Water of life), into which it would seem that the souls of the dead were plunged, rising thence with eternal freshness and vigor. But, besides the far-off mystical island, there is another Pulotu, the Underworld, which is reached by
[823] jumping into a crevice, or into the sea. Several localities are mentioned as
Hala ki Pulotu (Road to Pulotu) which, like the jumping-off places of souls throughout so large a part of Polynesia, have a general westerly or
539 northerly outlook.[1] In the first and sixth of the stories that follow, the
773 hero plucks up a reed (*koho*) with which the entrance of the road to
775 Pulotu is closed. This detail of the reed is found in the story of the
visits of Maui Atalanga and his son, Maui Kisikisi, to the Underworld,
824 Lolofonua, during the time that they were living in Koloa, one of the

gives an excellent conspectus of the myths relating to Hina and Sinilau 539
throughout Polynesia and Krämer (26, vol. 1, pp. 132-139) relates Samoan 773
stories of Sina and Tingilau which present features closely resembling 171
those found in the Tongan tales.

Sina is induced by a jealous wife of Tingilau to get him away fishing; she is then killed by the jealous wife. Afterwards she is restored to life.

Sina's soul is taken by a jealous girl. Sina's brother finds her soul, and restores it to her and she lives.

Tufitofau and Ongafau have two children, Lupe (who is in the form of a pigeon) and his sister Sina. Sina is very beautiful, is married to Tingilau, and lives with him in Savavau. A woman (human and demon) swallows nine baskets of fish, baskets, leaves and all. Sina is blamed, and is banished into the forest. Her brother the pigeon, has compassion on her, and prepares for her confinement. Sina lives separated from Tingilau, but they are reconciled through their child. Tingilau, before the reconciliation, gets his son to take a piece of taro to Sina to chew for him (26, vol. 1, pp. 132-139). (See 22, pp. 181-195; 8, pp. 237-8.)

HINALEIHAAMOA DAUGHTER OF LUPE

There was once a pigeon, named Lupe Pangongoa, whose habit was 539
always to turn her tail to the wind; no matter from what quarter the wind 773
blew she always turned her tail to it. At last she became pregnant, and bore a very lovely daughter, whom she named Hinaleihaamoa (Hina Samoan ivory). The Lupe used to go about the various countries gathering possessions for her child, for she knew there would come a day when she would be married, and she would be put to shame if she had not the wealth wherewith to celebrate the nuptials. So the house of Lupe and Hina was filled with women's treasures.

One day Tangaloa looked down from the sky, and saw this wealth of mats and cloth spread out in the sun, and he called to Light Rain, "Maiden go down and get some of Pigeon's possessions that are spread out yonder." Down ran Light Rain; but she was too slow, the mats and cloth were taken into the house, and scarcely anything was wetted or spoiled or lost.

Next Sudden Shower was called to go and get something; but Lupe was very quick, and saved the greater part of her wealth, so that Sudden Shower got little more than Light Rain.

Then Heavy Rain was bidden to descend, and he, rushing down in a sudden burst, destroyed nearly the whole of Lupe's possessions. Great was the grief of Lupe and her child. Especially sorrowful was the poor girl, and
she went down to the beach and lamented. As she wept there a shark [825]

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539 came, and said to her, "Hina, come with me, and if you ever have a child you
773 can shave its head with my teeth."

825 But Hina replied, "Get you gone shark with your disgusting body; whom do you come to take away?"

Then a stingray came and invited her, promising his skin to her child to scrape sandalwood. But Hina answered, "Get you gone stingray with your little body; whom do you come to take away?"

Then a turtle came, promising that if she went with him her child should have his shell to make a ring. And Hina assented to the request of the turtle, and, mounting on his back, they sailed away together. As they went the turtle told Hina that if she were thirsty she would find drink in his coconut shell flask (*hohoni*), and that if she were hungry she could eat from the crown of his head and portions of his flesh, for his thigh and other portions of his body were good to eat. So Hina drank from the coconut shell flask, but, thinking it was a nut with flesh inside it, she cracked it on the turtle's head. That is the reason the turtle has a short neck.

They sailed on to Samoa, and reached the place where Sinilau lived, and
539 Sinilau came down to the beach while Hina was sunning herself, just above
773 the high-water mark. When he saw her he set himself a sign to know if she were mortal woman or spirit. He would cough slightly, and if she took no notice he would know she was a spirit, but if she hastened to put on her kilt he would know she was human. When he coughed the maiden sprang to her kilt, and clothed herself. Then he asked who she was, and she replied Drift-from-the-sea (Hungaluopea).

Now Sinilau had a house set apart for Hinaleihaamoa, and a house of eight mats, but he did not know that this was Hinaleihaamoa herself. So Hina lived with Sinilau, and became with child.

One day while Sinilau was away fishing his other wives came to Hina, and played a game in which the players bind each other in turn. When Hina was bound they threw her into the pig-sty, where she was found by a man and his wife who lived near, and who took her into their house and cared for her. In due time she bore her child, a boy. When the boy was grown big he was playing one day in front of the house, near a hea tree that stood there. Now, Lupe had ranged far and wide in her search for her child, and it happened that she was sitting in the hea tree while the boy was playing beneath it. Presently a fruit of the tree that Lupe had bitten fell to the ground. The boy picked it up, and took it into the house to his mother. Then he returned to his play. Again a fruit, marked by the bird's beak fell to the ground. This, too, was taken by the boy to his mother, who, noticing the marks of Lupe's beak in the fruit, said: "These are just like the marks

SEKETOA

825 776 Gifford (22, pp. 83, 84) has related how Seketoa, son of the lord of Niua Toputapu, leapt into the sea, and became a fish god. His promise before he died was that he would be a helpful friend to the people of Niua Toputapu. Some time after his disappearance a large shark (*tenifa*) appeared off the shore of the island, with a white mark in its side. This was Seketoa. He appears of different sizes and colors, but is always known by the white mark, the scar of a wound he received in battle while yet in human shape. Seketoa is said to have frequently guided ships to their anchorage.

Maatu, who died about the year 1923, said that Seketoa was angry with him, because he had once been about to shoot at him. Maatu intended to sail to Tafahi, a high island near Niua Toputapu, on a certain day, and was asked by one of the native clergymen if he might go with him. Maatu consented, and early in the morning went to the beach to board his boat, but was very annoyed to find that his wife, whom he had previously told to stay at home, was already on board. They set off, Maatu sitting silent and ill-humored. Presently the pastor commenced to talk about Seketoa, and asked Maatu if the tales he had heard about him were true. Maatu responded curtly that they were. Then the pastor suggested that Maatu call Seketoa for them to see. "Don't know if he'll come," replied the chief. But the cleric asked him to try, so Maatu called, "Seketoa, if you're there come for the minister to see."

"Sometimes he's a little fish?" queried the pastor.

"Yes," responded the chief, "sometimes so."

Scarcely had he said this when the minister exclaimed, "*Oiaue*, there are the little fish." Near the boat were fish about two feet long, of variegated coloring, one of which came closer, revealing the telltale white mark on its side. "There's the chap you wanted to see," remarked Maatu.

"I heard he was a big thing," said the pastor. Then the fish disappeared, and a big fish, about eight or ten feet long, with the same coloring, and showing the white mark, appeared. The fish went on ahead, and presently turned and came back, this time much larger, but still with the mark and the same colors.

"Ah," said the pastor, "that's a chief (lord, god, spirit, *'eiki*)." They ceased rowing, and stood up to look at the fish. He went off, and came back still longer, as long this time as the boat. Again he went off, and returned larger, coming near the stern of the boat, abreast of the pastor. The boat was almost water-logged. Apparently the sea was coming over through the commotion made by the big fish, and nobody was baling, for all were intent on the fish.

"Maatu," called the minister.

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"What," replied Maatu. The boat was rolling with the movements of the fish.

"I have been a minister for over thirty years," he said, "as a young man in Vavau I was very bad. I used to steal, and I have struck people in the dark, and I have done still worse things. I have wanted to see a *tevolo*. I became a minister, and God has prolonged my life to see truly the truth of a spirit. Thanks be to the kindness of the Lord; I have always said it was a lie about spirits. Is there anything the lord is angry about?", for the boat was rolling violently.

In the boat was a man with his head bound with a turban, and the minister ordered him to take the turban off. He obeyed, and fell into the sea in his consternation. Maatu seized a gun that was in the boat, and called to a man to get cartridges from a bag. Then Seketoa sprang up, nearly overturning the boat, and made off, springing high out of the sea as he went. They went on to Tafahi, and returned to Niua Toputapu without further incident. All this occurred in January, 1897.

In April of the same year Captain Ross, who traded so long from New Zealand to the Tongan Islands, and Niua Foou and Niua Toputapu, reached Niua Toputapu, having previously touched at Niua Foou. Captain Ross told Maatu that he had done wrong, that a large shoal of the fish called *otule,* which had previously been very rare in Niua Foou, but a regular visitor to Niua Toputapu, had been chased to Niua Foou by Seketoa. Maatu later got further details from a native pastor who was sailing on board Captain Ross's ship from Niua Foou to Tongatabu. The *otule* had been plentiful in Niua Foou from the preceding January up to that time. Fusitua, one of the leading chiefs of Niua Foou, in January had a dream in which a man appeared to him, and told him to go to Futu (Niua Foou), and get *otule,* which he had brought because he was angry with Maatu for preparing to shoot him, adding to tell Maatu when he saw him. In his dream Fusitua saw the *otule* and the opening in the reef through which they came. So he woke, and was unable to sleep again.

In the morning he called a man named Fisi, and told him that they were going to eat fish. Fisi laughed, but Fusituta told him the place where the fish would appear, and bade him go and see if the dream were true. Fisi was hard to persuade, but at last he went, and saw a great shoal of *otule,* shepherded into a narrow channel by two sharks (*tenifa*). Fisi returned to Fusitua, and told him what he had seen. Then they went with a number of people and saw the *otule.* Since then the *otule* has been seen very infrequently at Niua Toputapu, and never in large shoals, but only one or two at a time; while it has been frequently seen in Niua Foou, but only in the one place, Futu. When the *otule* comes to Niua Foou it is always preceded by two large sharks (*tenifa*).

825 776 Maatu asserted that he always saw Seketoa when he went to sea, even in parts of the group far distant from Niua Toputapu. Once he was sailing between Niua Toputapu and Vavau. The sea was very rough, and he saw Seketoa swimming about on the surface in the form of a big sea-eel (*tukuhali*). Presently the eel sprang aboard close to Maatu. The men on the boat wanted to kill it, but Maatu prevented them, and picking up the eel, he threw it back into the sea, telling it not to come aboard again. In 1896 Maatu left Nukualofa for Eua. They stopped for the night at Eueiki, and in the morning found the sea very rough and the wind ahead. Against the wishes of the crew they sailed. The distance is not great between Eueiki and Eua, but by midday they were only halfway. As they sailed a great shark came alongside the boat, and Maatu remarked that it was the god from Niua Toputapu. Presently he saw the white mark in its side. The shark did not stay in the one position, but appeared here and there, and then was lost to view. When they reached Eua, Maatu was going ashore in the dinghy when a great fish appeared, and the man who was rowing became alarmed, and wanted to return to the larger boat; but Maatu made him go on. The passage back to the boat from the shore was also full of terrors for the rower, for the fish was lying off close to the opening of the reef.

HOW THE VETE WAS TAKEN TO HIHIFO

539 825 [776] Latukefu of Hihifo went to Hahake to visit the sister of the chief Tamale. When the visit was ended, and Latukefu was about to return home, Tamale's sister, desiring to make a gift to the departing guest, asked her brother what she could give him. Tamale thereupon sent word to his god Haitau [1], who appeared in the sea eel (*toke*) to take off his girdle of the fish called *vete*, and send it along for Latukefu. Tamale instructed Latukefu to go straight home, and not turn aside; but Latukefu disregarded this advice, and turned aside to various places, including the islet of Malinoa, and at all the beaches which he thus visited the *vete* is found.

Latukefu has the same lucky days for fishing as Tamale, namely *fakatolu* (or perhaps *fakafa* or *fakanima*), *punifanga*, and *matofi*, which would be a night or two after the new moon, and shortly before, and shortly after, the full moon (16, p. 170; 13, p. 213). Tamale must not go down to the beach when the *vete* come. Latukefu is not bound by this restriction.

THE BIRDS AND THE PLANTAINS

539 825 262 There were once two brothers, named Wise Malala and Foolish Malala, and they went one day and planted a plantain. On the following day Wise Malala sent his brother to see how their plantain fared, and he found that one leaf had sprouted. And so every day Foolish Malala was sent to look at the plantain. Every day for the next nine days he found that one more

leaf had sprouted, until there were ten leaves. On the eleventh day the 539
fruit spathe had appeared, and on the eighteenth day the fruit was ripe. 825
But on the nineteenth day he discovered that the fruit had all been eaten
by birds. 262

Then was Wise Malala very angry, and bade his brother call a meeting of all the birds, and to allow no bird to be absent. When the birds were assembled Wise Malala questioned them in turn, "Fowl, who has eaten our plantains?" The fowl denied all knowledge of the deed, as did also the rail, the pigeon, and all the birds; none knew who was guilty.

Then Wise Malala inquired if any were absent, and the names were called, and it was found that the *misi* had not appeared. Messengers sent to seek the *misi* found that he was sick; so orders were given to carry him to the meeting. When he was brought and questioned he, too, denied all knowledge of the theft; but he was made to evacuate his bowels, and the excrement was nothing but ripe plantain. So the guilt of the *misi* was established, and he was seized and killed.

Since then the remains of plantain have not been eaten.

FLEA AND NIT GO FISHING

539
825

Fananga, isa,	A tale, ah me;
Kutu mo liha,	Flea and nit
Fa'u hona vaka,	Built a boat,
'Uli ki moana,	Sailed the deep,
Fusi ena 'ika,	Pulled in a fish,
Fusi fiefia,	Pulled with joy,
Fusi hake, fusi hake,	Pulled up, pulled up,
Koe matakelekele,	A matakelekele,[1]
Ha 'ika e faikehe;	Strange-shaped fish;
Muimui mo ha'ele,	Put about, sailed away,
Tau ki Ha'a-pepe;	Reached Haapepe;
Muimui mo fenatu,	Turned again, sailed about,
Tau ki Ha'a-tafu.	Reached Haatafu.[2]

The following four lines given as the closing portion of the foregoing verse, seem to have no close connection. They may be a fragment of some other verses.

Kuli fekai	Fierce dog
Ne a'u ai 'a Tonga ni,	Reached Tonga here,
Peau tauhele'ia,	And I trapped him,
Talu ai ene mate pe ia.	Ever since he has been dead.

THE CLUBFOOTED CHILDREN

There was once a married couple who dwelt in the midst of the forest. 539
In course of time the woman bore a son, whose feet were deformed. The woman abandoned the child, for she was ashamed before her husband of its deformity. Now a demon [1] seeking food found the child, and took him

539 *Dracaena* (possibly the leaf and streamer girdle, *sisi*), or whether it is *sii* (as written), the common, usually untranslatable, word of affection.

3. Fetoa and Toloke are evidently localities represented by the suitors.

[103] 4. The champion of Veifefe is Vaenuku, from Eua. Veifefe is the name of a tiny stream in Eua. The word is also written Veefefe.

Page 51. The transformation of Vaenuku's brother

[538] 1. This is the usual ceremonious and apologetic way of commencing speech; *uta* (shore) means the dwellers in the land; *hau*, the comers to the festival at which the poem is recited.

Page 52. Auka and Talataiva

[538] 1. There is a well-known proverb, *Ko ho'o foui ne fai*, "Your *foui* did it," equivalent to "It is your own fault."

[302] [585] [837] 2. This needless betrayal of an illicit amour seems strange, but with it may be compared the painting of brides with turmeric during the marriage ceremony. I have heard, though without much confirmation, that husbands sometimes safeguarded the fidelity of their wives during their absence by painting their bellies with turmeric. Obliteration of the design was evidence of unfaithfulness. Is there, behind all this, a blood ritual connected with sexual intercourse?

[538] 3. There is a well-known proverb, *tuanaki Auka* (relying on Auka) which indicates misplaced confidence (17, no. 552).

[825] [776] Page 58. How the vete was taken to Hihifo

1. Haitau is called also Mufutaaetau (8, p. 228).

Page 59. Flea and nit go fishing

539 825 The *matakelekele* is said to be a very strange-looking fish. For Samoa, Krämer gives *mataeleele* as *filoa* before it is fully grown (26, vol. 2, pp. 417, 419). There are indications that the *matakelekele* was once worshipped, a very intelligent informant saying that he heard a man say that sacrifices were taken to it.

[103] [551] 2. Haapepe and Haatafu are names of localities in Tonga. The not infrequent occurrence in names of *pepe* (butterfly) suggests that there may have been once a butterfly clan.

Pages 59-61. The club-footed children

539 1. In the course of the story three words used of supernatural beings are used of the demon: *nifoloa, faahikehe,* and *tevolo.*

[192] [782] [192] [197] 2. It would seem that the success of an incantation, or invocation, was achieved by preceding it by the word *tuputupu-le-fanua.* The form of the word is Samoan rather than Tongan, but it apparently is not known in Samoa, as it is not in Pratt's Dictionary. Tregear (34) defines Tuputupuwhenua as "a celebrated divine or semi-divine personage mentioned in Polynesian traditions. He is also called Tumutumuwhenua." Thus the incantation may have been originally an appeal to the being mentioned by Tregear.

[177] [845] [732] 3. The rock wall can hardly be an original feature in a Tongan story. This feature may be borrowed, or introduced lately, or the story itself may be a borrowed one into which some Tongan ideas are introduced. The mother's shame at the deformity of her children is characteristic. Tongans are more sensitive to physical blemishes than are Europeans.

[779] [824] Page 61. Tafakula and the origin of the papaya

1. The sandalwood (*ahi*) of a ruddy brown color, is said to be especially associated with this goddess (8, p. 237).

Page 61. The Samoan and the Tongan exchange gifts

[196] [115] 1. The depreciatory effect of the reduplication of *niu* (nut) can perhaps be best rendered by the use of "near" in the sense in which it has become familiar as applied to beer. I heard this story told by Professor A. R. Brown, now of Sydney University.

539 [823] [776] 19. Kanakana is a pool in Teekiu, western Tongatabu, where dwelt the god Tutula, or Haelefeke, who appeared in the octopus (*feke*). Besides the advice to Falepapalangi to go and find a pool and the trees as subjects of his verse, there seems to be the idea also of finding a god to be the patron of his muse.

[825] 20. For *ai* (almond tree), *vai* (water, pool) may be read as a variant, and instead of *ua* (two), *na* (there). Without knowing just what is referred to there is no way of choosing definitely between the various possible readings. The man may be represented as speaking to someone in Hihifo "who knows," and asking "Where is that almond tree, or pool that you people talk about?" or as asking "Where is the double almond tree, or double pool?" Two pools, or two trees, close together, would make a sufficiently conspicuous land-mark to be noted, and *ua* is probably the correct reading.

Pages 67-69. A poem of Falepapalangi

539 276 574 [565] [465] 1. A chief sometimes gives his kava to someone of lower rank than himself, usually as a reward for services rendered. This bestows on the man to whom the kava is given the right to clap and have the cup brought to him when the chief's name is called. This privilege is transmitted from generation to generation. The hypothetical charge which Falepapalangi is considering is that of having brought to him in the kava ring a cup which has not been so given to him, a much more serious usurpation than merely draining off a cup of someone's else drink.

[428] 539 2. Falepapalangi seems to claim having borne off the prize, probably against Mamaeaepoto on some specific occasion when the King was present. There is a possibility, however, that he refers to his poetical skill as a heaven-sent gift of the gods; Tangaloa is the lord of the heavens. It is in keeping with the spirit of Tongan poetry to consider all the possible meanings and allusions as more or less involved.

[776] 3. Kafoa and Talau are hills in Vavau. That the hills had fallen means that Vavau, in the person of Mamaeaepoto, had been defeated in poetical contest, and, as a Tongatabu man, Falepapalangi turns the tables on Mamaeaepoto's assertion that the Tongatabu poet has neglected the beauties of his own land to abuse the poet of Vavau. Falepapalangi contends that he, the Tongatabu poet, has not been unmindful of the claims of Vavau to commemoration; that his rival has mentioned to him places in Tongatabu that might be visited for poetical inspiration, and in his retort infers that he knows and is quite willing to celebrate Mamaeaepoto's land.

4. Meaning "We were in complete accord about the charms of Vavau."

[644] [192] 5. The king, the Tui Kanokupolu, and those connected with him, are called *haa moheofo*. Moheofo is the daughter of the Tui Kanokupolu, who was taken as the principal wife of the Tui Tonga. *Mohe* in *moheofo* is not the same root as *mohe*, sleep (compare with *moheofo*, the Samoan *masiofo*).

[644] 6. Pangai is the court of the Tui Kanokupulu, or the place where this king holds his court and great gatherings.

[192] 7. The word *liku-loto* is used of an inland place that is precipitous and has the appearance of the cliffs of the weather coast. It is proverbial for that which is not what it seems.

[192] 8. The term *faka-vavau* (Vavau fashion) is proverbial for talk that is boastful.

9. "Hiding and squeaking" is used of that which hides, but reveals its presence by noise. Here, apparently, it means lying low and uttering plaints hard to understand.

[524] 10. This metaphor is from the game of *lafo*. The raised edge of the mat on which the pieces are thrown is called *kaunahu*; players were able to make good use of this, as a billiard player makes use of the cushion. *Futa kaunahu* (pride in the raised edge) is pride over a successful shot due to the mat rather than to the player's ability. Hence it indicates boasting of what is due to extraneous circumstances rather than to skill. Evidently Falepapalangi refers to an occasion on which Mamaeaepoto has defeated him. Possibly the themes of the poets on that occasion were their native lands, and Falepapalangi means that Mamaeaepoto's victory was due to the scenic superiority of Vavau to Tongatabu rather than to the poet's skill.

[825] [776] 11. Perhaps a living dog, or perhaps merely a way of saying that the matter be left to one who is good at following up clues. A dog was prominently associated with the worship of the god Pulotukatoa in eastern Tongatabu.

12. The theft is Mamaeaepoto's claim to seamanship.

13. That is, the place where people sit and talk on deck, as distinguished from the working part of the ship. Falepapalangi says that Mamaeaepoto wants to leave the

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11. By *ma* (we) Tukulua indicates himself and one other, possibly a sweetheart. 539
It is possible that in this regretful farewell to the happy activities of living men and
women, he is thinking more particularly, though not exclusively, of the charms of 76
women's company. *Tuula* (perch for birds) would seem more likely to be applied to
women than to men; women are frequently called *lupe* (pigeon). For a possible [763]
reference underlying *tata anga lei* (place of carving ivory), see *lei mangamanga* (p. [192]
130).

12. By "games" (*tolo*) is meant the sport of dart-throwing, but possibly there [524]
is a covert allusion to love.

13. The form of the phrase *tuma 'ae fuifui puleoto* (man, lad) of cluster of
puleoto recalls the Hebrew "son of oil." The *puleoto* is a shell used for the necklaces [237]
of chiefs and is a valued ornament of chiefly virgins. To wear this shell is a mark [301]
of virginity, for if a girl who is not a virgin wears one suspended from her neck the
shell will not lie properly upon her bosom, but will turn over. [836]

14. The *motelolo* is a tree.

15. There are two musical directions in my manuscript copy. The word *fasi* [824]
apparently marks a part where those who sing the air come in, or perhaps sing alone,
and the word *lautoka* is perhaps a direction to the base or seconds. The refrains that [533]
recur throughout the piece were probably sung by the full chorus.

Page 79. On the death of the Tui Tonga

1. Langiehetupua is the name of Tui Tonga's burial vault. 539

2. The number of pigeons flying about in all the islands (*otu fonua*) was an 76
omen of the King's death.

3. In the original Tongan text *mata 'o peka* is written as three words and would 643
thus mean face (front) of *peka* (flying-fox), but the probability is that it should be
taken here as a geographical name. It is possible that the phrase may mean the faces, [764]
appearance of the people of Peka (21). Veituna also appears to be a geographical [763]
name. Where these places are, or why they are mentioned, is not known.

4. Malamaisaua (indistinctly written, and possibly Malamaisana, but Malamaisaua [787]
suits the rhyme and is in all likelihood correct) is probably a place name, perhaps the
name of the late Tui Tonga's compound; but it may be one of the names of the [825]
King himself.

5. *'Otua* means god, spirit. This direct ascription of deity to the king descended [776]
from the Lords of Heaven may perhaps be made easier by the fact that he is dead
and has returned (or is about to return?) to the land of immortals, but it seems
preferable to regard it as a statement of what the Tui Tonga, the Sacred King,
actually was in his status as a king, both king of mortals and a god, probably pre-eminently the god so far as men were concerned.

6. Screen (*tatau*). A screen (*kolo*) is sometimes put around the bodies of chiefs [764]
during the burial ceremony in the cemetery and, for the very great chiefs, also in the
house in which the body lay before being taken to the cemetery. Inside this screen
only the *haa tufunga* (compare Maori *tohunga* and cognates in other dialects), members
of the family group to whom belonged funerary arrangements, were allowed to enter.

7. Alaivahamamao, probably a *matapule* of the dead king.

8. "Midrib of the coconut leaflet" signifies the dead king. He is so called [192]
because flowers and leaves are strung on the midrib, and the name signifies him who
was the center of festival for which garlands and necklaces were prepared; him to
whom most of all were brought objects of pleasure and delight.

9. Manono and Fualu are names of localities in Tonga. It is possible that [103]
Manono is indicated. The statement has been made in Tonga that there is tradition
that the pigeon came from Samoa to Tonga. Perhaps the most likely interpretation
is that the pigeon of Manono and Fualu is the dead King, though it is possible that
this is the beginning of an address to the women of Manono and Fualu, calling on them
to mourn. The loss of the next five lines makes it impossible to decide.

10. At the end of the mutilated line is *evalu*, translated "eight," but of course
there is nothing to show that the syllables are not, for example, the end of a name.

11. The use of the word *afio* (reign) does not mean that the king will be king [775]
of Pulotu, for Hikuleo is ruler there; but the word *afio* is used of the Tui Tonga and
has a wide range of application. It is the word used of the king's being, presence, in [192]
any place. The lines mean little more than that he will be in Pulotu, Pulotutuumau
(Pulotu stand fast). If Watkin (38) is correct in thinking that the Tongans divided

764 cord when the hunter attempts to pull it back to him, is probably the figure of courting a girl who is yet too shy and coy to respond to the advances of her lover.

539 22. "That it be of comfort and use to thee on sea and land."

[192] 23. "Thou art skilled in its taking" signifies "Being a bard yourself, and able to carry things of this sort about with you in your mind." How skilled he was in this taking, Falepapalangi presently proved by repeating the whole piece.

24. These lines seem to be a general approval of liberal culture.

25. This apparently is a modest depreciation of his own efforts. Anopepe is in Eua.

26. "Like a steep cliff" is the poet's inability to do justice to the dead man, or to the merits of Falepapalangi. "Two throws strike its face," a very intelligent Tongan explained as indicating a high cliff where a stone dropped from the top struck the cliff face before falling to the bottom; but since two throws are mentioned it would rather suggest throwing a stone from the bottom.

764 539 773 27. The mother of Hikuleo was Havealolofonua, one of the orginal goddesses, born of seaweed and mud. This hint of her living with Hikuleo in Pulotu (Hikuleo was the god of Pulotu) is very rare, if not unique, in Tongan myth. The Samoan god of Pulotu was Saveasiuleo, preserving in himself both the names Havea and Hikuleo (26; 15, No. 3, p. 276). An old Maui, the grandfather of Maui Kisikisi, is represented as living in the underworld.

[776] [775] 764 539 [776] 28. Atamusi and Atavaha are said to be two gods from Pulotu who brought some forms of wealth to men. The wish is expressed that all the wealth brought by these two, and all the wealth brought in modern times from foreign lands could be given to Falepapalangi to console him in his grief. There is said to have been a man living in Tonga some time ago who was called the Ponepe. I have conjectured that he came from Ponape. The war flag of France is perhaps a reference to the visit of a French vessel of war in the forties of last century. Nuse is presumably New Zealand, although now the Tongans call that country Niu Sila.

29. Konaofafine (Treasure of women) is a name for Falepapalangi.

[551]

Pages 82-84. Falepapalangi's last poem

539 1. The name Haapai stands at the head of this piece and at the end, a note that it is the last poem of Falepapalangi.

763 539 763 827 2. The sneeze is not always a sign of bad luck. It is supposed to be a good sign in a sick man. One informant, however, says that to sneeze in sleep is a sign of death; a sneeze lying on right side is an omen of death on the father's side of the family, if on left, of death on the mother's side, and if the one who sneezes is lying on his back it is a sign of his own death. In ordinary usage a sneeze is greeted with a laugh, as it is said to indicate that someone is in love with the person who sneezes. This recalls the propitious sneezes in Catullus' well-known lines. To sneeze, however, just before entering on some enterprise is said to be a bad sign.

539 3. Uluakimapa is a nickname (*hinga fakateuetene*) of some chief. These names are always pleasant.

763 4. By this metaphor of the sea Falepapalangi indicates the coming of his sickness upon him.

[551] 5. Some lines possibly have fallen out at this point. There are indicated instances of wrong procedure on the part of a *matapule*, the poet himself, in this instance. He describes his conducting a kava ceremony without having a piece of the root before him. He also describes some wrong disposal of the food (*fono*) served with the kava.

6. This is another sea metaphor; to come up to the wind here means "sailed well up to the wind of success."

7. The text expresses his misplaced confidence and pride; he regarded himself as a man of mark.

8. "To level the hill" is "to lay himself low."

[55] [824] [782] 9. Uluakiheilala is a nickname of some chief. The *heilala* is one of the plants used in the garlands and girdles. The chief, in his anxiety for Falepapalangi, gives orders for a boat to be got ready to sail to some place where there is a temple and sanctuary, to supplicate there, and turn away the anger of the god.

[551] 9a. Heataukakapa is another nickname, probably that of a chief who was a friend of Falepapalangi.

[825] 10. The bird of heaven is an omen, presaging the death of Falepapalangi. Kaimotokanga (eat and attend) is a proverbial expression for proceeding warily. The bird

of omen is evidently the fact that Falepapalangi is so ill that he can no longer do as 539
he likes, but has to be very careful.

11. It is not likely now that the events referred to in these lines can be ascertained. 763
Matamoana is a place name, one locality so named being a mound (*sia*) in Hihifo.
Papavao may be a name, or may indicate some beaten level place in a wood. Tuihalafatai 825
was the name of a Tui Kanokupolu who died in the latter part of the eighteenth
century. Halafatai is the name of the weather coast (*liku*) at Kolovai in Hihifo, 103
Tongatabu. The flats (*toafa*) are the shallows along the northern coast of Hihifo. 551

12. His title to fame was not as a cultivator of the soil, nor as a planter of kava
(the plant valued amongst chiefs, and whose successful cultivation set the seal on a 823
man's skill as a gardener), but that he was known as a man who wandered from place 538
to place, a man of the road, amusing the chiefs with his songs. Maafu and Ahomee
and Ata are chiefs; Uhi and Mafi Motuapuaka are *matapule*.

13. The picture is of a man entering a house where Falepapalangi and others are sitting, chiefs being present, the man bowing as he comes in and takes his place. He wishes to give Falepapalangi his leaf-girdles, a sign of his appreciation of the bard, and throws it to him across the front of those sitting between him and Falepapalangi, but his aim falls short.

14. Mapaehingano is the nickname of a chief. The *mapa* and the *hingano* are [551]
valued plants.

15. Tonga is standing, secure, but the loss, the grievousness, is his own fate.

16. The "mutual liking" is either of Falepapalangi and his choir, or of the chiefs and Falepapalangi and his choir.

17. Reference is to the songs of Falepapalangi and his singers on a voyage to Vavau, Haafuluhao. When they reach Vavau the wind goes round to the south (*tonga*) that is, word comes from Tonga that he is to return to attend the Tui Tonga and his principal wife. The Tui Tonga used to be carried about in a litter.

18. The wealth is probably the right given him by a great chief, Fuhifalahola,
to sing before him. Fuhifalahola (cluster of hala) is a nickname for a chief, quite [551]
possibly the Tui Kanokupolu, or perhaps the Tui Tonga. But since Uhi and Lauaki
and Kioa are *matapule* of the Tui Kanokupolu, he is in all likelihood the chief indicated.

Pages 84-86. The voyage of Ulamoleka to Niua Toputapu

1. The expression *tavatava-'i-Manuka* in the original, means "whisper in Manuka." 539
The exact translation of *tavatava* is uncertain, though it is said to mean the name of 584
a woman, wife of Tongafusifonua, who lived in Manua in Samoa. When the Maui arrived in Manua in search of the hook with which to haul up lands, the woman who loved Maui Kisikisi imparted to him the secret of which hook to select. When the Maui made the right choice, Tongafusifonua exclaimed "Who has '*tavatava-'i-Manuka?*" meaning "Who has betrayed the secret?" The expression is proverbial for telling that which should not be told (15, No. 3, p. 278; 17, No. 367; 28, vol. 1, p. 228, where the land-fishing is ascribed, not to Maui, but to Tangaloa).

2. The mat, that is, the virgin or bridal mat presented by the virgin bride to [585]
her husband. Ulamoleka says that for the first time, he learns, forsooth, that the [565]
mat is a very high chiefly one, that is, that the girl is a very high chieftainess, too
high for him to espouse.

3. Ulamoleka, appropriately to a navigator, clears away the tapu on account of
his words in the preceding lines, which may sound presumptuously to the unseen powers, [821]
by propitiating the stars. Aloua is a star name.

4. Ulamoleka commences something about himself, the great navigator, clever at finding lands; but breaks off to tell the girl she can do as she pleases to Tonga, represented of course by himself.

5. Niutoua is a little stream in Niua Toputapu.

6. A navigation metaphor is here used "The poet will seek another charmer."

7. Here there is more than one strand of meaning. When the rejected suitor goes on his new love errand the girl will not know to whom he has gone. Possibly there is the idea that she does not know how high his lineage is; he refers to his lofty descent later. Again the Niua Toputapu girl does not know how great are the ladies who have not despised his love. And he goes on immediately to refer to another aspect of the aspersions against his birth. He is thought a man of no great birth because he works so hard, but the great Loau did not disdain to work.

21. Vaito is given by Gifford as name of a place in Niua Foou, but apparently 539 there is a locality of the same name in Niua Toputapu also.

22. Ulamoleka is speaking of his rank and says that in him are united the two 584 strains of the Tui Tonga (land-side) and of the Tui Kanokupolu (sea-side); that [103] the greatness of the distance between these two families is represented in the image of the sea-bird, attempting to fly from one to the other, but falling exhausted before the distance was accomplished; yet these two lines are united in him. The daughter [644] of the Tui Kanokupolu was regularly married to the Tui Tonga.

23. Apologies are made to the Tui Tonga, the Day-star, and to the Tui Kanokupolu, whose is the main-sheet, that is the care and guidance of affairs. [643]

24. "If in my heart be a thing that is evil" has been taken as referring to the lines preceding, but it may be taken with the line that follows. "If there is anything amiss in him the southwest wind will know," that is, it will be spread abroad. Or, taking the line with what follows, the southwest wind is probably to be understood as the wind that blows from Tongatabu (though the direction of Tongatabu from Niua Toputapu is nearer south than southwest). If it be the wind from Tongatabu the reference is to Tongatabu itself (which is probably to be understood if the other interpretation of the line is accepted). Tongatabu knows that he, Ulamoleka, has drunk water of mingled wisdom—he is famous not only as a sailor, but as a bard. He has already hinted, moreover, at success in dart-throwing, *lafo*, fishing, and pigeon-snaring. Moreover, his name is a compound of the names Ula and Leka, the two chief sailors and fishermen of the Tui Kanokupolu.

25. Vaea is the name of the chief of Houma, in Tongatabu, and is also the name [551] of one of the Tui Haatakalaua. Toilolo is apparently the name of another chief. Tongafuesia and Akiheuho are evidently the names of two canoes. The picture seems [552] to be that of Ulamoleka commanding canoes, with the strong winds and rushing waters; high-spirited chiefs rejoicing in the freedom and movement of the sea, the gaiety of the scene heightened by the company of women who sit and talk and sing on the top of the deck house.

26. These lines are obscure and there is some textual confusion. The Tui Haa Leo (King of the guardians) and Tui Haa Pio are evidently the heads of chiefly [613] houses, but seem to be now unknown, though the Haa Leo may not be the proper name of a house, but indicate the Tui Haatakalaua or Tui Kanokupolu. The shore of Hihifo is the district of the Tui Kanokupolu; the Fusimomoho is the canoe of Kinikinilau, who belonged to the clan of the Tui Haatakalaua. Ulamoleka says that he looked afar to see if a sailor changed to the canoe of Kinikinilau, apparently indicating that he had made inquiry to ascertain if there had been intermarriage to bring together the lines of the Tui Kanokupolu and the Tui Haatakalaua, with the implication that in few, if in any, had the two lines been so closely united as in himself. He claims for himself also the blood of the Tui Haa Pio. Although the houses of the Tui Haa Ila and the Tui Haa Faleono are said to be still surviving, present day Tongans do not seem to know them.

27. Literal translation is "dark saying of *puko*," evidently a proverbial expression. There was a mystic puko tree in Pulotu, which could supply all wants, food, drink, [775] clothing. There was also a tree connected with the famous sanctuary Fanakavaki in eastern Tongatabu, to which the suppliant stated his case. A mortal priest presided at [825] the tree to learn the will of the unseen powers regarding the man who sought shelter in the sanctuary. Although the exact reference of this line is lost it evidently means something like baleful, secret speech.

28. The reference to this toa tree is equally obscure. The meaning of *totua-okulilo* is "spoken is hidden." Possibly the idea is that the detractor can stay in the realm of secret and unfriendly speeches, devoting himself to that sort of thing for as long as he likes.

29. Loau gave ordinances and directions about many things. Managa, in Haamea, near the Wesleyan College, Nafualu, was the name of Loau's compound. It is intimated that Loau, quietly at home in Mananga, was aware of events distant in place or time.

30. Many of the places named are mentioned because of their connection with the life of sailors and fishermen. To know Ulamoleka's real greatness is but to go to the places where famous sailormen ply their art. There are also chiefly names in the list, which, perhaps, are local names as well, and come into the category of names of places haunted by sailors. Faleovalu, literally "house of *valu*" (a large fish), is a [103]

539 669 54. The taunt, if it be a taunt, may refer to a number of things. Perhaps Kuli and his daughter are indicated. Some women would be killed in the ordinary course of fighting, and especially when, as is indicated, an ambush was rushed from all sides. Grammatically it is not clear whether "our" refers to the forces of Hihifo or those of Finau.

539 669 634 726 55. The recurrence of the idea of fleeing in various parts of the poem clearly refers to Finau's retreats after battle in Tongatabu. If the Teukava mentioned by Mariner is the author, then the events referred to must all have happened before Mariner left the group. Mariner gives the picture of Finau making raids on Tongatabu, and then retiring northwards to Haapai and Vavau. Although Finau's operations were directed mainly against western Tongatabu, and although Vahai's avenging of the defeat of Taofa consisted in sweeping through eastern Tongatabu (a district, which if not actively supporting Finau was at any rate more lukewarm in its opposition to him than was the west), yet it is unlikely that Finau would receive wholehearted support from any district of Tongatabu. Finau, for all his courage and ability, must be regarded as an adventurer, whose victories, not being directed to the achievement of any clearcut purpose, were powerless to do anything but increase the sum total of human unhappiness.

Pages 94-96. Poem of Tukuaho (a variant)

539 669 [643] 1. This reading gives a plainer sense than that in the foregoing rendering. The blind king is represented as standing in with the chiefs of Hihifo in their efforts to vindicate the rights of the Tui Kanokupolu chieftainship. The "king's chiefs" are the Tui Tonga and his chiefs, the party of Hahake. Hahake should be considered hostile to Hihifo rather than friendly to Finau.

[643] 2. Perhaps there was a rumor, that Tupou Malohi, for example, intended withdrawing to Fiji.

[103] 3. Haameneuli is now known in Tonga as the name of a locality forming part of the modern village of Niutoua, in the extreme east of Tongatabu. Smith has suggested, with probability, that the name was connected with Manahune (33, pp. 149-153).

[551] [644] 4. Naaika, Lavaka, Makaui are names of *matapule*. There is a Makaui of Maofanga, and another of Houma. Probably Makaui is connected with the Haatakalaua. Lavaka is not the chief, as is well known today. I have learned nothing about Tuki. (His name is indistinctly written in the manuscript from which I took my copy, and might equally well be read Taki; Tuki, however, suits the verse.) It is reasonable to surmise that all four are names of *matapule* associated with the chiefs of Hahake; they have shaken their hands over the soil of the blind king, that is, have indicaed that they will have nothing more to do with him, because of his throwing in his lot with the party of Hihifo.

5. No name is indicated of the one who went to Fiji; possibly it was Tupou Malohi. Mariner relates (28, vol. 1, p. 78) the arrival of a great Tongan chief Tuihalafatai from Fiji, and of his exploits in that country. If the accepted chronology be correct this Tuihalafatai cannot have been the Tui Kanokupolu of that name.

6. The expression *hau hopo* is said to mean "during a time when peace and pleasure ruled." It is suggested that *hopo* indicates literally the springing about in games and dances.

7. The pronoun *ta* is the first person dual, inclusive pronoun, thou, and indicates Hihifo and I.

8. Kaloafu and Teuhie are two well-known rocks on the coast of Hihifo (21, p. 98).

9. I have found nothing about the names Vatangia and Vetelali. They are badly written in the original, and may be Satangia and Selelali.

● [825] [634] 10. "Pig brought in a boat" is the hostile army from overseas, with the implication of the pig that was made king. Mariner says nothing of this insulting installation of a pig king by Finau, which must have occurred some years before Mariner's arrival, but would be likely to be a theme of conversation during his time. It is quite possible that Finau did not instal such a king, but that the practice, which we see in these compositions of referring to him and his armies from Haapai and Vavau as the pig that drinks water, and the pig that comes in a boat, gave rise in after years to the story that he made a pig king.

11. The line beginning "The great house" refers to the murder of Tukuaho.

539 these famous men have had their part in life to play, so have I mine, that of being a *matapule* to the King in Tongatabu.

644 2. Tuakilaumea complains that instead of being treated with the respect that his
office and service demand he has been attacked, and that, forsooth, to vindicate the
276 honor of the King.

3. Animals (*manu*) is a contemptuous term for the people.

687 4. The attack was carried out by the people of Nukualofa. Tuakilaumea says
[142] that he would have less to complain of had he been attacked by one or other of the
famous regiments he names, whose duty it is to guard the King. Haamea is the locality
[701] in central Tongatabu connected with the great Loau; Utulau, a village in central
Tongatabu, which gave its name to a regiment very famous about the beginning of
the nineteenth century; the name Matakehe seems not to be known today, but it is
suggested that this regiment was associated with Motuapuaka, one of the two principal
matapule of the Tui Kanokupolu; a great chief of the Tui Tonga house, was named the
Tui Pelehake; he, and presumably the regiment Pelehake, guarded the Tui Tonga.

[643] 5. This is an assertion that Mumui was not in the direct line of descent of the Tui Kanokupolu; but was sent for, and arrangements made, that he should be king. Tuakilaumea is making what he can of the fact that Mumui was not the son of his predecessor; but that, as is clearly shown by the genealogy, involves no irregularity. Mumui, who was the eleventh Tui Kanokupolu, was the son of Maafuotuitonga, the sixth Tui Kanokupolu, who was immediately succeeded by two sons who had not the same mother as Mumui. The practice was to keep the office within the one house, but to select a man of mature vigor. The succession of the Tui Tonga was usually but not invariably from father to son.

[551] 6. Mapatongiamanu was a nickname (*kingoa fakatenetene*) of some great chief; presumably the Tui Kanokupolu whom Mumui succeeded.

7. Tuakilaumea says sarcastically *Nae koko pe fau moe fau* (fau fiber succeeded fau fiber) that is the strong succeeded the strong. (Compare 17, no. 40.)

8. This is not said of Mumui alone, but of Mumui and those who appointed and approved him, and of all those who joined in the attack on Tuakilaumea.

9. I have heard no descriptions of these two kinds of clubs.

[701] 10. Muli and Maumau are names of two noted warriors belonging to the chief Nuku. The poet says "Let them come and do the things that I do on the pigeon mound Halaevalu, and at the fishing-reef."

11. This is either the poet's caustic comment on the people of his time, or his representation of the attitude to them of the King, who thinks that he may indulge his anger as he pleases and the people will tamely submit.

12. Another reading is the commoner's secret grief. The commoner is the poet himself. This is a not uncommon form of respectful speech to a great chief.

[643] 13. "The king we have got" repeats the assertion of earlier lines that Mumui did not become king by succession but was brought in, says Tuakilaumea "a fine bargain we have made of it, a surfeit of fear is our reward."

14. "The wind has gone from the south right round to south again," bad weather is blowing up.

[551] 15. "The dwelling of Molofaha and Máliepo," means the condition of the land generally. Molofaha and Maliepo are the ancient names of the two *matapule*, Motuapuaka and Lauaki.

16. Under the image of fishing Tuakilaumea foretells war, saying that circumstances are almost ripe for the outbreak of contest.

[643] 17. Stranger (*kehe*) is the new friend on whom Mumui relies when he illtreats old and trusted supporters. There may be a special reference to Nukualofa. The Tui Konakupolu belongs especially to Hihifo, but at some time or other Nukualofa became the principal residence of this king.

18. "Surrounded by a circle of foemen," refers to one of the stratagems of Tongan warfare, wherein a party of soldiers surrounded or partially surrounded a tract of country, and closed in on and entrapped the inhabitants. The encircling foe is represented as driving the people into Haavakatolo, one of the villages of Hihifo.

19. It is possible to interpret this as meaning that when the disasters of war come upon Mumui then his real friends will come to his assistance.

[825] 20. The plant *tangato* is one which the pigeon eats only when other foods are scarce.

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

22. The plant *unuoi* is a favorite food of pigeons. Tuakilaumea presents himself as a pigeon eating *unuoi* unapprehensive of pending trouble when the news of his disgrace reached him; probably also an allusion is made to himself drinking the kava which was the cause of all the trouble. 539 644

23. The plant *pipitongi*, here used as a nickname of Tuakilaumea himself. 276

24. Moli hath done wrong, leave it to Loli, is a proverbial expression for laying the blame of one man's wrongs upon another. 687

25. This is a proverbial expression complaining that the unworthy reap the benefit of the labors and endurance of the strong and brave (17, no 92). 825 ●

26. Afaipaongo (little fruit of hala) is a sarcastic name for the King. The *paongo* is a valued species of *Pandanus*, and the name is constructed on the model of the nicknames of great chiefs, which frequently are of some valued and pleasant plant. The *ofa* of the hala, however is the last fruit, which is smaller than the earlier fruit; and the name, therefore, is a taunt, "poor little fruit coming after the great fruit which have preceded you." 551 551 824

27. Lolo was one of the handsome men whose profession was love. Tuakilaumea used the word *motua*, a common but not very respectful term for man.

28. Lotunofo; the compound of the Tui Tonga in Mua.

29. This is perhaps the request of Mumui to Tuakilaumea to live with him; but afterwards Mumui is relying on the chief Vahai of Lolopaongo a village of Foui, in western Tongatabu. But Vahai has deserted the interests of Hihifo and gone off to Hahake, where he originally belonged.

30. This is a sarcastic reference to Mumui. The direction is to "pluck the stars from heaven for this king of ours, and let all the forces of Nature be according to his pleasure." Alotolu is the belt in Orion; Toloa, the Southern Cross; Humu, dark sky near the Southern Cross (16, pp. 4-6). 821

31. Tufuhu is a place name in Tonga, Haapai, and Vavau. Winds are named therefrom, as *funga Tufuhu* (from the surface of Tufuhu). 821

32. Kalau is an islet off the southern end of Eua. "Below Kalau" is used of the wind blowing from a point seaward from Kalau. 821

33. The reference is to some town where lightning was held to be an omen of war. "The town" is said to be Mumui's own town. 821

34. Teuhie and Kaloafu are two rocks off the coast of Hihifo. The murmur of the sea is said to be heard on these rocks in calm weather, hence the expression is used here of calm seas. In these lines, in addition to the sarcastic request that Nature be as Mumui would choose, is the poet's own brooding fondness for the natural features of his native land, which is so constant a feature of Tongan poetry. 823

35. The Kailakulaku is the boat of Ata, one of the great chiefs of the Tui Kanokupolu. The context implies "Let the canoe of this chief put out to shatter all opposition, that our King reign without a rival." 552

36. The line *Ke tau nonofo kuo tatau*, seems to have two ideas: first, that the king be equal to his job, and hence know how to treat his *matapule;* and, second that we be all alike under his rule, that is that his rule be marked by even-handed justice.

37. The phrase *fa ahi a* is not very clear. The word for sandalwood *ahi*, may be a name for the King, in which case the line would follow the preceding one and mean "That we live in justice with Ahi." I have taken *fa ahi a* as an expletive. The poet is again sarcastic at expense of Mumui.

38. There is in Vavau a cave, or depression, with sweet water in it called Tokitou. Bathing in this pool is said to make one beautiful. 823

39. "Correctness of a maimed hand" carries with it the implication that with all its correctness of movement in the dance the maimed hand can not achieve fullness of beauty and grace.

40. The exact interpretation is uncertain but it is an expression forbidding speech. Toku is the name of an island north of Vavau, and of several other localities. 103

42. Tuakilaumea says that he will no longer consort with Mumui.

Pages 100-102. Rhymes for the game of hiko

1. I know of no other occurrence of the form Savaiki in Tongan. 539
2. Many names in this rhyme are of chiefs. 524

her brother Fatafehi, who succeeded his father as Tui Tonga, were children of Telea 533
and Mataukipa, who was the granddaughter of a Tui Tonga. The placing of her
name at the head of the poem does not mean that she had anything to do with the 539
composition of it; nor that she is the subject of it. Apparently the bard has named [643]
his composition and the dance for which it was sung after this great lady. Another
piece in the collection from which this is taken is associated with her name. Probably
both pieces and others were sung to the one dance for this piece is much shorter [535]
than the song which accompanies the average dance, and it is not unlikely that this
and the preceding poem were performed together. The first was concerned with bonito
fishing, and this with fishing for *valu* by trailing a hook astern of the canoe. The [226]
line, now-a-days at least, is fifty or more yards long.

2. Telekivavau and Telekitonga are a remote little group of uninhabited islets, [103]
at the southeast extremity of Haapai.

3. Fetokopunga and Lalona, islets in Haapai. [103]

4. The division of the word Tatohofa is uncertain; it is taken, probably correctly, as one word, the name of a boat. [552]

5. One of the nights of the Tonga month. The phases of the moon were care-
fully observed by the fisherman, as some days, or nights, were *aho ika*, fish days, that 533
is, favorable days for the catching of fish. The *aho ika* seem to have varied for
different localities, or chiefs, which is much the same thing, and fish. A complete 539
list of *aho ika* would furnish doubtless an interesting contribution to the study of 226
lucky and holy days; but it is doubtful if it is possible for such a list to be recovered
from the memory of living Tongans. The phase of the moon *uluaki ahoia* would 821
seem to be one of the *aho ika* for the *valu*. I have translated *uluaki* literally as
first; but as a matter of fact is seems that the first of these phases of the moon is
called *feahoaki*.

6. Matafau, Houmatau, reefs; Fonuaika, an island in Haapai. 533

7. The "little fish" (*mafua*) are the smaller fish which serve as food for the 539
bigger fish, the *valu*, whose pursuit is the subject of the poem. There is frequent
mention of the *mafua*, sometimes with the name of some particular fish. The fisher- [103]
men direct their course by the appearance of the shoals of smaller fish on which the [825]
valu, and other large fish, feed.

8. Nonuku, an island; Naa, unidentified, but clearly the name of an island, a [103]
reef or a tract of sea.

9. The *ulukau* is a small fish. In this reference a shoal of *ulukau* are the [825]
mafua.

10. For the remarkable regularity of the appearance of the palolo, the well- [825]
known sea-annelid, *Palolo viridis* (32; 6, pp. 135-36).

11. Auhangamea, the sea between the islands of Uiha and Uoleva, in Haapai—a [103]
good trawling ground.

12. The fishermen see a shoal of small fish, but on approaching them find that [825]
they are *memea*, a fish which the big fish will not eat, so it is useless to go on in that
direction.

13. The *ulua* is a large fish. The names *lupolupo, memea, lupo,* and *tafauli ulua* [825]
are said to be used of successive stages of growth of the same species of fish.

14. The *manua* is the name of a night noted by bonito fishers; at that time the [821]
moon is past the full.

15. The text reads *ko toamotua;* the emendation *ki Toamotua* is the conjecture [226]
of the best informed of living Tongans, but Toamotua is not identified.

16. A hopeful fishing ground is indicated; big fish are there seeking *mafua*.
The original text reads *vahi ni,* which is not intelligible; *vaha ni* is merely a conjecture.

17. Luahoko and Ofolanga are islands in Haapai. [103]

18. After the ill success indicated, the fishermen are about to give up, but
remember Puke and Faleovalu, spaces of sea within the Haapai group, and go there
to try their luck. The last line is extremely terse, and means the fishermen are
returning home well satisfied, having caught so many and such big fish that the hook
is broken.

Pages 117-118. A praise of beaches

1. The banyan tree is the one under which Captain Cook addressed a great 533
gathering of Tongans. Since that time it has been popularly called Captain Cook's 539

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823
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Pages 119-120. If there be a stranger

1. This line is the refrain, sung after every line. 533

2. Haapuopuai, a pool on shore near Mua. 539

3. Talilaki, a difficult opening in the reef passed through in going by sea from Nukualofa to Mua. [103]

4. Nukufeheaki; unidentified in this locality, is probably an islet. [103]

5. The *mohokoi*, a tree with sweet-smelling flowers; is apparently that known to Europeans as ylang-ylang (*Cananga odorata*). [103]

6. Apparently a woman is represented as the speaker, addressing a lover who has come over the sea, and must return to the land whence he came. Oil is given by women. [824]

7. Vaiola and Hunibush are nicknames apparently of chiefs and lovers of the speaker's own land. She would have given the stranger oil and garlands, but these other two have prevented her, at least from giving as much as she had intended. [551]

8. Halaleva is a road near Nukualofa, famed for the plentifulness of its fragrant plants and flowers. The women of this favored spot scent themselves by placing leaves in the *kona*, the fold of the *vala* at the waist. [103] [302]

9. The names mentioned in this passage are all of localities. [103]

10. The *faonelua* is a species of *Pandanus*, very rare and highly valued. One of these trees stands in Mua. and is commonly reported to be the only one in Tonga. [824]

11. Lapaha, a part of Mua.

12. The reference is to *funganiua*, the *sisi*, leaf girdle and skirt, with a double row (*fungani*) of plaiting entwined with flowers, at the top. [103] [291]

13. At Mua festivals and garlands are so common that the fragrant *sisi* is the girdle even of commoners. [291]

14. The green in Mua, Feingakotone, is where the festivals and sporting contests (*kotone*) of the Tui Tonga were held. It is not so much a name as a descriptive title of this place, *feinga* meaning doing-place, place where a thing is done. The word is much like the English Sports Ground. [368] [192]

15. Folaosioeiki, a place name. [103]

16. This line is not clear. Provisionally I have taken Takuimalae as the name of a *malae*, but taku, or *takui*, may be a tree standing on a green (*malae*).

17. Takuilau, Ahofakasiu, and Fepaki are place names; Tangitangi is probably a place name also, though the word means opening of the buds, and it is possible that the line should read, "Takuilau with opening flowers." [103]

Page 121-125. Chanties

1. "Carried astern," going astern, may mean that the chanty was sung while the canoe was going astern, or the reference may allude to something in the form of the chanty itself. The composer says that he should be rewarded with sweet-smelling garlands (*pipitongi* and *lolohea*), or that the chanty itself is pleasant like these fragrant things. For a different interpretation see Gifford (21, p. 17). [502]

2. Keitahi and Falofilimoto are localities on the weather shore of Vavau. [103]

3. The sites of Tuniloa and Tele are not identified. Both names are listed by Gifford; but not as of natural features suitable to this contest. The lookout place (*matanga*) is a commanding position whence a good view of sea or land can be obtained. The same word is used of a thing seen, a notable object; and also of the spectators at a festival. [103] [192]

4. Fangmofuike (Beach of earthquake) is a beach in Vavau, evidently where the women resort to bathe and dress their hair with lime. This is unlikely a reference to any particular woman, but a general description of what happens at this beach. [103]

5. These verses appear to be rather an ungallant address to a lady, intimating that she must look elsewhere for a lover.

6. Valefanau is a locality near Kolovai, the principal village of Hihifo. Iloituunga is probably the name of a place in the same neighborhood. [103]

7. This is an old chanty, still used in dragging sleds on which large presentations of food are placed (*toho umu*). The *pekipaki* is a sea creature popularly called blue-bottle. The singer likens himself to sea creatures able to outlast the rigors and hardships of the sea. The term *fiuanga* here means one who contends with and overcomes sea, cold, and wind. [483] [825]

USE OF CAVES

172 There is evidence of a twofold use of caves in Tonga. Use for tempor-
342 ary shelter and places of hiding was to be expected and warrants no lengthy
discussion. The use of caves as burial places, however, deserves more care-
172 ful consideration as it is contrary to recent customs and traditions, and not
764 altogether in harmony with the usual primitive methods of burial. It is in-
teresting to note in this connection that the Fijians somtimes buried their
[171] dead in caves (28, vol. 1, p. 186). Moreover, no accounts of cave burials
in Samoa were found—negative evidence hardly appropriate to use as an
argument for Fijian origin of cave burial. Tongans usually account for
[173] the occurrence of skeletal material in caves by stories of wartime refugees
who lived and died there, or who were tracked to their hiding places and
killed there. The remains are usually laid out with great care, however, and
172 in no way suggest a scene of final retribution. Referring to a cave burial
764 which he saw at Toula, Vavau, West (27, p. 186) says: "The native guide
informed me, that strangers to the land were never buried in the ordinary
766 places of interment. They were considered as outcasts, and their bodies
were, therefore, brought to this cave to be buried in the sand." On the other
hand, the skeletal material which I obtained from a cave burial on the island
of Kau, Haapai, was found by Sullivan (21) to be similar in type to material
from regular burial places. This suggests that these people were not for-
eigners in any radical racial sense. The available evidence seems to indicate
that some strangers and foreigners may have been buried in caves, in dis-
tricts where caves were available, and that other caves were used as burial
sites by refugees for their dead.

172 The caves Anapusi (Cat-cave), Poutaha (Single-post) and Anakumete-
342 kava (Stone-kava-bowl-cave), situated near the western top of a low hill
south of Maofanga, Tongatabu, were traditionally used as dwelling places
[825] or temporary shelters. Cat-cave is so named on account of some owls that
are said to live there and to have the supernormal power of assuming the form
of cats at will. Single-post-cave derives its name from a limestone column
which supports the entrance roof. A concave stone, said to have been found
in Stone-kava-bowl-cave, accounts for its name. All of these caves are un-
172 comfortably small as places of residence. Nevertheless, refugees from the
342 fighting forces of George I Tupou are said to have hidden there. They bear
no evidence of prolonged occupation.

726 A cave called Analahi (Large-cave) penetrates the precipitous face of
the northeastern shore of Eua, Tongatabu. It is said that a group of Euan
refugees lived here for a considerable length of time, the only means of
access to the cave being so difficult that a single man could guard it against

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539 cealed in this space and apparently lost; it is not really lost, however, but
285 is there all the time. Used of that which seems to be lost but is not
really so.

139. Papata ka nae lalanga: Coarse textured but woven.

This is an image from mat weaving. Although the weaving may not be first class yet it will give greater satisfaction to the one whose own
[183] handiwork it is than will another mat of better construction. The satisfaction of accomplishment.

LAND CREATURES

539 **140. Foki e kuli ki he ene lua:** The dog returns to its vomit.
825 Probably, almost certainly, a mere adaptation of the Biblical expression.
(compare No. 150).

141. Hange ha kuli fie jikoa: Like a dog that wants to defecate.

A dog who happens to be shut in a room and wants to defecate will run anxiously from door to door seeking a way out. Applied to a person who cannot keep still in a room, but keeps shuffling about and changing his seat.

142. Hange ha kuli viku: Like a wet dog.

The dog after bathing in the sea runs and jumps about with evident marks of the greatest pleasure. Used of one bustling and running about, and obviously bubbling with joy.

143. Mohemohe ae kuli pea fafangu: The dog is sleeping and is waked.

This is exactly like our English "Let sleeping dogs lie." The expression is said to have been first used with respect to a great man-eating dog named Fuhibubuta, which lived in a cave at Motuliki in Fiji. Tradition has it that this dog, after having destroyed all the inhabitants on his island except two brothers and their sister who eluded him by hiding in the bush, was killed by Maui Kijikiji. Another legend attributes the exploit to Muni. The origin of the expression has also been referred to the dog which formed part of the temple furniture of the god Pulotu Katoa (Whole of Pulotu) in eastern Tongatabu.

144. Hange ha pili efihia: Like a squeezed lizard.

The *pili* is the pretty little blue and green lizard so common in Tonga. He is slenderly made and if squeezed, as for instance, by being caught
[826] between two sticks, would present a very attenuated figure. Used of a very thin person.

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145. **Liu ka moko:** Lizard climbing upside down. 539

The lizard comes down a tree head first, and there is occasionally a man so skillful in climbing that he is able to imitate the reptile in this. To such a man this expression would be applied, but it is used generally of one who has some special way of his own of doing some particular feat or who possesses some extraordinary skill that enables him to bring off feats that the ordinary mortal would scarcely attempt. 825 554

146. **Moko looa:** Choking lizard. 539

Applied to a person whose neck is stretched out like that of the lizard in his distressful attempts to swallow. (Compare Nos. 167 and 177.) 825 [264]

147. **Kuma aka ki he pusi:** Rat kicking at the cat. [571]

Generally of the weak behaving presumptuously to the strong. [157]

148. **Pekopeko a pusi kai moa:** Quiet mournfulness of a cat that eats fowls. 539 825

The hypocrisy of one whose sad-eyed propriety in the presence of others is belied by the mischief to which he readily turns when free from observation is likened to the conduct of the cat whose demure abstention from chicken flesh does not outlast the presence of human observers. (The cat, with its English name *pusi*, is a late introduction.) 829 577 157

149. **Pakau a puaka tuu a:** Leanness of a pig kept in a sty. 539

The pig kept in a sty does not become so fleshy as the pig allowed to wander freely, but when put to the test of eating the pig from the sty is found to have more fat on him than his brother who enjoyed greater liberty. So used of that which is lean to the eye but is found to have much fat. 825 231 262

150. **Puaka ne maa toe fakapelepela:** A pig that was clean again covered with mud. 539 825

Equivalent to the Biblical saying about the sow that had washed turning to wallowing in the mire, and possibly a translation of it. 231

151. **Pukepuke a fufula:** Grasping a big fat pig.

This is a task that demands the whole of one's strength and care. Tradition says that a big prime pig used to be kept in a sty in Taanea in Vavau, and that Maui Atalanga and his son Maui Kijikiji went to get it. As the younger Maui went to lay hands on the animal his father exhorted him to grasp it firmly lest it escape. This incident, however, does not seem to be claimed as the origin of the expression.

152. **Hage ha fononga pulumokau:** Like a troop of cattle.

Pulu-mo-kau, bull-and-cow, is used as a name for either bull or cow. It is of course recent. Applied particularly to great waves at sea and also generally to large things. [823]

539 **153. Hange ha pulu kuo ta-halai:** Like an ox that is struck
825 badly.

231 Obviously modern, since the introduction of cattle. The picture is
152 that of a slaughterer who has missed his aim and only wounded the animal. The ox in its pain bellows aloud. Applied to one who laments or weeps without restraint, at the top of his voice.

539 **154. Taupuji hosi:** Touching horse.

825 It is possible that the latter part of the first word is the introduced
231 name for cat, *pusi*, in which case the literal translation would probably be,
183 Cat touching (perhaps fighting) horse. This, however, is by no means certain. The phrase is applied directly to a child taking liberties with a horse, with the chance of earning a kick by his temerity. It is also used generally of running into unnecessary danger. The expression dates from the introduction of horses and would seem to have originated when horses were still new to the Tongan people, and objects of more or less awe.
[192] The Tongans of today, even quite young boys, are fearless riders.

539 **155. Ji namu tae feongoongoi:** To kill a mosquito without giving
825 warning (more literally, without mutual understanding).

571 If one sees a mosquito on a companion and gives it a slap the kindly
183 office will perhaps not be appreciated if the blow takes the human recipient too much by surprise. Instead of gratitude anger may be evoked. So one must be sensible about the way in which even the best meant services are rendered.

539 **156. Ngali ha liha:** Like a nit.

825 Rather an abusive way of alluding to small things.

157. Oji e neveneve: The *neveneve* will be finished.

A phrase meaning very many. The *neveneve* is the nest and young
[802] of one of the spiders found in Tonga. The nest when opened is always found filled with a very numerous progeny, and so it is said of a great multitude that one will sooner finish counting the *neveneve* than be able to reckon so large a number.

158. Oku lau pe e he mokohula oku ikai ha ua oe lalo takapau: The earwig reckons there is no place like under the mat.

The earwig lives under the mat and if disturbed runs back there for
[829] shelter. To him this is the finest place in the world. Used proverbially of out-back folk who have no conception of anything finer than their own restricted surroundings.

539 **159. Tuakoi a ofato:** Mutual support of the *ofato*.

825 The *ofato* is a grub that makes its dwelling in rotten wood. In the
571 Tongan group it is apparently found only, or chiefly, in Niua Foou. These grubs, however close together they may lie, never quite touch and will be

found always to have a thin layer of the rotten wood between them. The expression therefore indicates those who should be in the closest possible contact and give the greatest support to each other, but who do not do so. Beside the ordinary Samoan term *afato*, Pratt (Grammar and Dictionary of the Samoan Language) gives *moe'ese'ese* as a name for this grub. *Moe'ese'ese* means "sleeping in different places" and apparently refers to the same peculiarity as is noted in the Tongan proverb. [For a description of the *ofato* (Samoan, *afato*) see Krämer, Samoa-Inseln, Band II, p. 430.] 539 825 571

BIRDS

160. **Hange ha moa liaki kovi:** Like a hen deserting badly. 539

Refers to a hen who deserts her chicks before they are able to fly to a roost and look after themselves. Applied to parents who neglect their children. 235 855

161. **Hange ha momoa fiji:** Like a handsome cock.

This is not quite literal, the word *fiji*, rendered handsome, being one of the descriptive terms applied by the Tongans to fowls, and indicating a dark plumaged bird that is reckoned the finest looking of all. Applied to a man of handsome bold aspect. 539 235 826

162. **Jitua kae kio:** Gone away but squeaking.

The picture is that of a man who has stolen a mother hen from her chickens. He gets off unobserved with his catch but leaves the young ones squawking until they attract attention and the theft is discovered. Used of the traces which one leaves of his wrong-doing and by which he is found out.

163. **Lilolilo pea kio:** Hidden and chirping.

A young chick hidden from sight will chirp and thus make itself known. Thus an action may be done secretly but there will be some slight indication by which it will be betrayed.

164. **Kai lalo hakalo:** Eating under the coconut scraper. 539

Coconut broken into small pieces by a scraper is very commonly used for feeding fowls. The thoroughly tame fowls will come and eat the nut as the pieces fall from the scraper but the wilder birds will not venture near. Used of giving up wild shy ways and becoming thoroughly domesticated. 235 825

165. **Kainga a moa taane:** Friendship of a breeding cock. 539

A couple of roosters may be friends but there will come a day when they will fight. Two high-spirited warriors may be friends but they are likely to fight at last. Friendship between those who are apt to fight with each other. 235 829 572

539 **166. Kio mo kokono:** Literally chirping and straining.

235 A name applied to chickens. Rather an abusive epithet applied to
829 persons meaning that they are chickens, that they cannot do much and
what little they do is only accomplished with a good deal of straining.

167. Moa looa: Choking fowl.

Applied to one who is nursing some sting; or who for some other reason sits with uplifted head and preoccupied stare. His attitude is likened to that of the straining fowl. (Compare Nos. 146 and 177.)

168. Moa tangata fie moa taane: Cock who wants to be breeding cock.

"Breeding cock" is perhaps not exactly a literal translation of *moa taane* which means rather a fine, big, specially strong cock. Birds of this stamp, however, are kept for breeding purposes and to discharge the responsibilities of caring for a family. More ordinary cocks find their way to the pot or, more strictly, the banana leaf. This indicates the conceit of
[157] an ordinary rooster who wants to be like his big strong brother. So of the
little ordinary chap who gives himself the airs of his betters.

539 **168. Hange ha veka kui:** Like a blind rail *(veka, Rallus pector-*
825 *alis).*

[137] Wild, uncoordinated action such as might be expected from a blind
bird.

539 **170. Kai pe tae hoo veka:** Eat the excrement of your rail.

825 Eat the fruit of one's own work. Used in reproach to one who is
571 enjoying by himself the reward of his labor, by those who think that they
626 should have shared it with him.

539 **171. Kaukau faka-veka:** Bathing like a rail.

825 The rail is not very fond of water. The expression is applied to a
515 human being who manifests the same distaste.

539 **172. Kiki tou veka:** Young rail generation of rails.

825 The young bird is not in the same generation with the full grown
birds. Used by anyone who wishes to emphasize that another is much
561 older than he. I am no more in the same generation with so-and-so than
the young rail is in the same generation with the full grown bird.

539 **173. Taka tahi a veka:** The rail going about at sea.

825 The rail may fly down to the sea or, in ancient days, may have been
taken on a voyage by those whose god he was, but in spite of his proximity
515 to the water he does not bathe. Used of one who goes down to the sea
but does not take advantage of the opportunity to bathe; is contented to
remain dirty.

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174. Tolo veka aki paanga: Pelting the rail with money. 539

Apparently a late phrase coined since the arrival of European money. 825
The word *paanga*, money, is also employed to designate the large flat beans 436
or counters used in the game of *lafo*. The reference to money seems more
likely. To kill the rail with pieces of money is doubly foolish. Not only is
the ammunition wasted but the rail is of little use when he has been killed.

175. Tolongia pe veka kae ofi: The rail is pelted only when he is close. 539 825

If the bird does not come near the haunts of men there will be no-
body to pelt him. In the same way people will not find themselves an- 829
noyed or burdened by the commands of chiefs if they keep at a distance 622
from them.

176. Aoto e manu ki Toku: The bird settles on Toku.

Toku is an islet in Vavau whither sea-birds resort in large numbers. The birds may fly far out to sea looking for food but they make for Toku to rest. Used, for instance, of a man coming home to close his days, or jocularly of a lover making for the home of his sweetheart.

177. Hange ha lupe kai kotone: Like a pigeon eating nutmeg.

The pigeon straining to swallow a nutmeg nearly chokes himself,
and has to stretch up his head and neck to get the nutmeg down. Used 828
of one who has something on his mind, or who for some other reason sits
in company with his head up and an absent-minded expression. The appear-
ance of such a one is compared to that of the straining bird. (Compare
Nos. 146 and 167.)

178. Hange ha mata'i moho vao: Like the eye of a wild *moho*.

Moho is the name of a bird. It is very rare now but has been seen
on the island of Eua. Its eye has a beautiful red iris. The expression is 826
used of a handsome face.

179. Hange ha tavake ta mafua: Like a tropic bird striking its prey.

Graceful action is here likened to the beautiful sweep of the bird's flight as it comes down to the surface of the sea, the attractiveness of its appearance being further enhanced by its striking tail feathers. (Compare No. 36.)

180. Holo ae miji ki he ovava: The *miji* flock to the *ovava* 539
(Ficus prolixa). 824

The *miji* (*Aplonis tabuensis*) likes the little berries of the *ovava* tree. 825
and flies to the *ovava* in preference to any other tree. The *ovava*, more- 137
over, is a large noble tree and the bird may be supposed to be attracted 136
by its distinguished appearance.. The application is that people like to flock 571
to the home of a chief or of a wealthy man. 554
622
556

539 **181. Kai aipe manu vaivai i he fangota ae lulutai:** Weak animals
825 are just eaten up when the *lulutai* goes fishing.

773 The *lulutai*, which would seem to mean literally the sea-owl, is alleged to have been a great bird and is identified, though without certainty, with the mythological *kanivatu*, the huge bird to whose breast Kae clung and was borne across the ocean from Pulotu to Samoa. With regard to this proverb it is said that when the *lulutai* went out for fish the larger sea creatures, such as the whale, were the object of his quest to be taken home to his haunts. Smaller creatures were merely tit-bits casually
[571] swallowed by the way. So do the strong prey upon the weak, destroying
[821] and consuming them as a thing hardly worth noticing.

539 **182. Lofa tala matangi:** Tern telling wind.

825 The appearance of the tern (Sterna sp.) indicates the approach of a
821 hurricane. Expressions of this sort are capable of much the same applica-
[136] tion in Tongan as in English: for example, when you see So-and-So coming you always know that something is the matter.

539 **183. Lulu taki lulu:** Owl leading owl.

825 Used generally of the mating of things that suit each other. It is
581 said to have originated with the marriage of Finta Puku, son of the Tui Haangana, with Fatafehi Lapaha, the Female Tui Tonga. Both man and woman were exceedingly handsome.

539 **184. Mamahi noa ngutu o fuiva:** Mouth of fly-catcher (*Myiolestes heinei*) labors in vain; or labor in vain of the mouth of the
825
829 fly-catcher.

461 The fly-catcher has a sweet note, but his singing is mere waste of
[136] time so far as getting food is concerned. So used of anyone who goes to much pains but gets no fruit for his labor. This expression was used of a chief who was vainly assiduous in his addresses to a lady.

539 **185. Tengetenga utuaki maa miji:** *Tengetenga* carrying (food)
825 for *miji*.

829 *Tengetenga* is a local name in Niua Tobutabu (Keppel's Island) for
571 the *fuiva* (fly-catcher, *Myiolestes heinei*); *miji* is also the name of a bird
[136] (*Aplonis tabuensis*). The *tengetenga* is the smaller of these two birds, and the phrase is used for the weak helping the strong, "the poor feeding the rich." (Baker.)

539 **186. Molumalu faka-kaka:** Fine like a parrot.

825 The parrot (*kaka*) found in Eua has an abundance of handsome plumage and with his feathers on looks a large full-fleshed bird. Divested of this showy covering his body is found to be small and thin. Applied to that which is showy but is found to be of little worth.

187. Pekepeka jio ohuafi: Swift seeing smoke. 539
The swift (*Collocallia spodiopyga*) is attracted by the smoke of fires. 825
The expression is used of a person who is constantly making for the fires 829
of his neighbors, that is, who prepares very little food for himself but when 571
he notices the culinary smoke ascending from some other home invites 574
himself there for dinner. The Tongan is very open-handed, but this chap 431
rather overdoes the giving of opportunity to other people to prove that it [136]
is more blessed to give than to receive. (Compare No. 86.)

188. Pikipiki aho: Wings folded by day. 539
Night birds sit with wings folded during the day. The expression is 825
used of those who don't do much by day but who prowl about at night, 821
very often getting into mischief.

189. Tee pato: Duck excrement. 539
The missionaries were the first to bring the Muscovy duck to Tonga, 825
and people who were specially anxious to appear well in the eyes of the 797
missionaries would not hesitate to assist them by cleaning up the mess made 554
by the ducks. The expression, therefore, is used of one who does all he 157
can to secure the favor of the missionaries.

190. Vea tee peka: Vea flying-fox dung. 539
A man called Vea lived for a long time with a great chief but at 825
last did something for which he was punished. Spoiling one's prosperity 571
or long service by a fault.

FISH

191. Angaanga mo fai: The name of a shark whose head is like 539
that of the *fai*, sting ray, and whose tail is like that of the shark 825
called *anga*. 157

Applied to those of uncertain character, now one thing and then another.

192. Faka-ikeika-lahi: Like a big fish.

Applied to one of a bold resolute deportment.

193. Fakalelei a tukuku: Peace-making of a *tukuku*. 539
The *tukuku* is a small fish (one of the Glyphidodon). This is used 825
derisively of the little chap trying to make things right between those who 571
are bigger, or socially superior, to himself. [136]

194. Fotu ae ulua ngalo ae tukuku: The *ulua* appears, the *tukuku* 539
is forgotten. 226
The *ulua* and *tukuku* are two fish, the *tukuku* being small and bony, 584
and the *ulua* large and fleshy. If fishermen are catching the *tukuku* and 554

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539 the *ulua* appears they will at once leave the pursuit of the inferior fish
226 and confine their attention to the newcomer. This expression lends itself
584 to numerous obvious applications but seems especially used of a girl who is
554 being wooed by a man of low degree when a chief steps into the arena
and also becomes a suitor for her affection. The small fry will at once
be neglected in favor of the more lordly catch.

539 **195. Mau e tukuku o ave maa Talanuku:** Get a *tukuku* and take
825 it to Talanuku.

622 This is equivalent to "Carrying coals to Newcastle." Talanuku was a great chief, though it seems to be forgotten just who he was; at any rate our inquiries have not yet succeeded in placing him. To him of course flowed the food and wealth of the country. The *tukuku* is a small bony fish.

539 **196. Hange ha ulua ha heli:** Like an *ulua* (mackerel) lashing
825 *heli.*

571 The *heli* is a small fish, usually found swarming in large numbers. When the large vigorous mackerel charges in among these small fry he makes a great dispersal. Used of a man who charges in strongly scattering other people, things, difficulties, to left and right.

197. Hange ha ulua oho-kai: Like an *ulua* rushing for food.

The *ulua* (a mackerel) is a large vigorous fish, and when he is
[461] pursuing other fish he presses his attack strongly. Applied to one who
when he has any work on hand goes into it with all his might.

539 **198. Hange ha fanau a ha fonu:** Like a turtle's family.

825 The turtle lays her eggs in the sand and leaves them there to hatch.
855 About the time when the young turtles should appear the mother is re-
593 puted to re-visit the spot where she laid her eggs and to take up her
602 station at the edge of the water. As the young turtles make their way down to the sea the mother seizes them and eats them. Only those who do not take the straight track to the water, but go off to one side or the other, escape their unnatural mother. The expression is used of parents who are unkind to their children or of persons generally who are unkind to close relatives.

539 **199. Hange ha ika kuo vae:** Like a fish that is divided.

825 This refers to a fish whose flesh is marked with clearly defined divis-
[537] ions. Applied to that which is well divided, as a speech skillfully broken up into appropriate headings.

539 **200. He oku ai ha ika e lele ki he hiku:** What, is there a fish
825 that will swim (run) towards the tail?

592 The fish swims forwards, headwise, not backwards, tail-wise. The expression has a special application to the family, which is naturally reck-

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oned rather to the father (the head) than to the mother (the tail). 539
Instead of the word *hiku*, *mahi*, which means the tail, is sometimes used. 825
592

201. Hola ae fai kae tuku ae foto: The sting-ray has gone but the barb is left. 539 825

When the sting-ray strikes with its tail the barb that enters the body 829
struck is commonly broken off and left in the wound. The fish may swim 571
away but the poisonous, wounding, painful barb is left. Those who have caused suffering may have gone away but the mischief wrought by them still persists. The evil men do lives after them.

202. Ika faao: Predatory fish; fish that prey on other fish.

It is explained as primarily relating to a fish which comes and seizes [226]
a smaller fish from the hook of a man who has caught it, thus violently capturing the fisherman's property. This is well in keeping with the literal meaning of *faao*, but the expression is used generally of one creature which preys on another.

203. Jii a maanga ika maka: Small mouthful (but) rock fish. 539

The Tongan words *ika maka*, translated "rock fish," indicate fish 825
found under the rocks, at the bottom of the sea, or far from land, and 183
which are of superior quality to those found close inshore or near the surface. The phrase means, therefore, that which is small in quantity but of good quality. (Compare No. 85.)

204. Lakulaku tee-feke: Handling black secretion of octopus. 539

Although the black secretion found in the head of the octopus is 226
eaten with the rest of the fish, it is handled gingerly on account of aversion 262
to its color. The expression is applied particularly to one who is not expert 272
in preparing kava. Instead of grasping the strainer or kava firmly and masterfully the inexpert operator handles the materials diffidently and awkwardly.

205. Luki tenifa i hono tahi: Challenge a shark in his own sea. 539

This species of shark, the *tenifa*, is large and fierce and will attack 226
men. The folly of jumping into the water just where he is and challenging 571
him to single combat is obvious. So the phrase indicates the foolish effrontery 825
of challenging one to contest in that wherein he is superior or under circumstances which give him a marked advantage.

206. Mohemohe a tenifa: Dozing of *tenifa*. 539

The *tenifa*, a large fierce shark, may doze, but when he wakes he wakes 825
to violent activity. Applied to one who is spasmodic; he is inert at one 157
time but at another is working with fierce energy. (See Nos. 207 and 208.)

207. Mohe faka-tenifa: Sleep *tenifa* fashion; *tenifa*-like sleep.

The shark *tenifa* is a very long and sound sleeper; his slumbers sometimes lasting for a day or more. Applied to people who sleep long and [513]
soundly.

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It is said that a man of Vavau out one day in a canoe saw a *tenifa*
539 lying asleep below the surface of the sea. He dived and fastened a rope to
825 the shark's tail, returned to his boat, which he overturned and sat on the
226 upturned bottom. He then waked the shark, or else it waked of its own accord, and let it drag the boat wherever it would till at length it was exhausted. He then was able to get it ashore where the people killed it and probably ate it. This story is vouched for as true and there is no reason to doubt it.

539 **208. Hange ha tenifa:** Like a *tenifa*.
825 Applied to persons of fierce, destructive temperament.
157

539 **209. Mata ika fai ki he pupua:** Looking at fish in a whirl-pool.
226 Fish in the deep swirling waters found both in holes in the reefs and in places out at sea will be very hard to get, however longingly one may gaze at them. The expression is used of something that one desires but is unable to obtain.

539 **210. Tafitafi o:** Sweeping *o*.
825 The *o* is a small fish of considerable repute and evidently energetic and
571 daring. When this fish appears the other little fishes in the vicinity make for shelter; he sweeps the sea clear. When a great man appears the smaller fry quietly disperse.

539 **211. Tau ae ika taane:** Fight of great fish, as of sharks or
825 swordfish.
578 When battle is joined between these strong fierce monsters of the deep the sea is churned into foam; the contest is long and stern. So used of the struggles of redoubtable champions.

539 **212. Tau ae lei moe tofuaa:** The whale's tooth befits the whale.
825 A big thing becomes a big person.

183 **213. Te leleva te pokumei:** *Leleva* floating, *pokumei* floating.
539 The *leleva* and the *pokumei* are two sorts of fish, of which the *leleva* is
825 held in high esteem but the *pokumei* is comparatively disregarded. The phrase
829 is used of people of little importance making preparations for anything in imitation of those who cut a bigger figure. For example, it might be spoken pleasantly to children who want to go out anywhere because they see their elders about to go.

FISHING

539 **214. Ai ke mahae pea toki pena:** Let (it) be torn and mended
226 afterwards.
Refers primarily to a fishing net. Go on using it as much as you like and if any damage is done to it, it can easily be repaired. Employed generally of other things besides the fishing net, but with the same meaning.

239. Unga toho ngeeji: Hermit crab dragging shell. 539

The hermit crab, burdened as he is with the shell of some other 825
creature, makes only slow progress when he moves. This expression is 461
used of one who is slow in his work or movements.

240. Koe loli foki e vau: The sea-slug (*Holothuria atra*) anyway 539
will be scraped. 252

This sea-slug is found in great numbers on the reefs; before it is 226
eaten its outer bitter skin is scraped off. If those who go out on the reef [136]
for shell-fish and the like fail in finding anything else they are sure to be
able to get some sea-slugs to scrape. Used of conversation which failing [521]
of topics comes round to some thread-bare subject or well-worn scandal.

241. Pulou kema: Veiled with a clam-shell. 539

Used to one who is ashamed to make a request. It is like saying 735
"put a clam-shell over your face so that it cannot be seen and then beg for 571
what you want." Also used of one who is very ready at begging things 157
from others. He is as though he had no shame, as though his face were 237
always shielded from observation. (Compare No. 395.)

242. Tafola vetevete afi: *Tafola* scattering fire. 539

The *tafola* is a kind of crab which is cooked by being thrown alive 252
into the embers and whose death agony is marked by violent struggles
which scatter the fire. The expression is used of a disobedient child who [857]
apparently makes a moral dispersal of his elders' commands analogous to
the displacing of the fire by the luckless crab.

243. Takanga a pipi mo kahi: Companionship of the *pipi* and 539
kahi. 825

The *pipi* and the *kahi* are two shell-fish which are often found together, 571
but the *kahi* devours the *pipi*. It is like the companionship of a simpleton
with a sharper who fleeces him. Baker translates the phrase: "To make a
pet or comrade of one who will cause trouble or pain." (Compare No. 47.)

244. Tanu a uu: The burying of the robber crab, or the robber 539
crab buries himself. 825

The robber crab (*Birgus latro*), burrows into the sand and buries himself, often for months at a time. He remains under ground so long that one might think he was dead but one day he comes again to the surface. So used of a thing that is long out of sight but at length comes again to light.

245. Tonuhia ae kaloaa ka koe vaka: The *kaloaa* is in the right 539
but it is the boat. 825

183
The *kaloaa* is a shell-fish (*Arca scapha*?) which does not move about, [136]
unlike the boat which goes and comes at will. So if any disagreement

539 is that anyone who wishes to do kind acts had better choose a time when
571 they will be really useful.
183

539 **308. Ngingi uha:** Sounding (of) rain.

821 This indicates the sound of the mallets used for beating out the
native cloth, or the sound of the native drum (*lali*) when there is rain
534 about. The note of the drum or *tappa* mallets is then a sign of rain.
412 Proverbially applied to the signs that something is about to happen. (See
287 No. 564.)

539 **309. Uha kei lelei:** Rain still good.

Rain falling at a suitable interval after the last previous downfall, as
821 distinguished especially from rain which falls after so long a period of dry
weather that many plants have died and are unable to profit by the down-
[183] pour when it does come. Generally of actions and circumstances of all
sorts that occur at appropriate times and are therefore able to achieve the
maximum of good.

SEA AND COAST

539 **310. Anu tahi:** Swimming (floating, wading) in the sea.

481 Used of one in difficulties, exactly as we say, "one has got into deep
829 water."

539 **311. Auhia kae kisu atu pe:** Obstructed by the current but spit-
481 ting on.

183 The picture is that of a swimmer striving against the current with the water breaking in his face and getting in his mouth; but who keeps squirting or spitting the water from his mouth and battles bravely on. Applied to one who goes indomitably on his way in spite of the difficulties which beset him.

539 **312. Fai tahi:** Sea doings, that is, unusual behavior, sometimes
829 deceitful conduct.

184 The gods of the sea had characteristics different from those of the land; the conduct of people at sea is not the same as their behavior ashore. It is hard to say what special differences, if any, exist between longshore and sea-going habits and particularly why the idea of craftiness should be associated with this expression. Broadly it appears to mean things that are not done ashore.

539 **313. Fakaita fai ki tahi:** Anger bestowed on sea; "to be revenged
571 on another by punishing oneself." (Baker.)

825 The story is that a party of brothers prepared food, yam with rats. When the food was divided one of the brothers, apparently the youngest, was dissatisfied with his share and in his chagrin jumped over a cliff into the

sea. These brothers were chiefs, each with his own followers, and the angry 539
man's followers went with their master over the cliff. Among them was a 571
Samoan. The party were turned into porpoises, and the tattooing on the 825
Samoan's body is the origin of the marking on the belly of the porpoise.

314. Feofaaki a kakau: Mutual affection of swimmers. 539

Kindly feelings for each other felt by those who have very little oppor- 571
tunity of translating their sentiments into actions, just as men swimming 481
away from a wrecked boat can do very little for each other however much they may desire to.

315. Ha ha mo lofia: Appearing, appearing and awash. 539

Used of that which shows up and disappears at intervals, like an 823
object floating in the sea, which is visible for an instant and then is hidden from sight by the waves.

316. Hange ha pa utu: Like a steep cliff.

Used of that which stands firm and unshaken no matter what storms of trial beat against it. The picture is that of a great cliff unmoved by the dashing waves.

317. Hange ha tahi hua: Like an incoming tide.

A resistless thing.

318. Matemate a liku: The *liku* still.

The *liku* is the weather side of the island, usually protected by a broad shelf of rock, and always presenting a rock-bound inhospitable coast. Even when the tide is out and the sea smooth, leaving the shelf of reef dry and bare, one cannot altogether trust appearances for a sudden wave may come
up and perhaps overwhelm those who are exposed in dangerous places on
the rocks. Appearances that cannot be trusted. [183]

319. Laku maka fai ki tahi (or moana): Casting stones into the sea (or ocean).

A type of a useless labor; the stones are lost but the sea is not dammed up.

320. Likuliku mo ao: Windward and leeward.

The sea breaks heavily on the weather side but there is calm on the
leeward side. This mixture of rough and calm is used proverbially of one [157]
whose character displays like inconsistencies; at one time he seems an honest man, and at another a liar; at one time kindly, and at another harsh.

321. Limu tuu i au: Seaweed standing in current. 539

That which is unstable, like seaweed constantly moved by the water. 824

539 **322. Mamaha ae tahi he kuo tuunga kiu:** The tide is low for the plover (*Charadrius fulvus*) can stand.

823
825

There are a number of phrases for different stages of the outgoing and incoming tide. *Tuunga kiu,* standing for the plover, indicates the time when the sea has receded so far as to leave isolated rocks projecting here and there on the reef, thus affording standing places for the plover. Proverbially used of that which is nearly finished, of which signs of approaching completion are appearing here and there.

539 **323. Nofo i lelenga:** Living at cliff; being at the top of the cliff.

823
[103]

Lelenga is the name given to a very high bare cliff in Eua, with a sheer drop into the sea. It is possibly, in this connection at all events, a proper name, but Baker gives it as a common noun meaning jeopardy. The expression *nofo i lelenga* has been explained as referring directly to the cliff in Eua, a fall from which would be certain death, and where, owing to the nature of the coast, the chances of recovering the body would be slight. Used generally of being in danger, uncertainty of life. Nowadays frequently heard in Christian worship in reference to the uncertainties of life.

[829]

539 **324. Paepae kae auhia:** Mounded up but washed away.

823
386

Perhaps in the first instance refers to the leaves put in the sea to bleach in preparation for mat making. These leaves are anchored by stones put on them. If not this the obvious meaning is still that of something which is piled up but yet washed away by the currents. It is applied to that which one tries to do, to put through, to make fast, but cannot.

539 **325. Ta ki ao ta ki tua:** Having regard to front, having regard to back.

823

Ta ki liku ta ki ao: Having regard to weather side (of an island), having regard to lee side.

Ta ki liku ta ki fanga: Having regard to weather (rocky) side, having regard to beach.

Ta ki tahi ta ki uta: Having regard to sea, having regard to land.

[183]

These expressions have the same meaning. In reference to persons they denote all-round excellence; used of place they mean everywhere.

NATURAL FEATURES OF LAND

326. Fuli ki vanu: Overturned into chasm.

Such a thing will not appear again; it is finished and done with. So of a thing that is finished, whose usefulness is quite over.

327. Ka kele a matavai e kele mo muivai: If the source is muddy the lower waters will also be muddy.

[183]
[312]

This has its obvious application to things spoiled throughout by corruption at the fountain-head. Although pure Tongan in form and vo-

at a considerable distance from their own homes. It is moreover a high 539
chiefly village; and therefore a likely place to obtain food. There is a 484
double reference in this phrase; first, that one is so hungry that he is 829
willing to go a long way to obtain food; second, that in going to Fuaamotu 261
he is going to a good place to get it.

HAAPAI

[Haapai is the central portion of the Tongan group, lying almost mid- 131
way between Tongatabu to the south and Vavau to the north. It is a 133
widely scattered archipelago, consisting almost entirely of low coral islands.]

339. Afa kai fai ki Haa-Ngana: A great talk about food after 539
the Haa-Ngana way. 829

Haa-Ngana, the tribe of Ngana, is found in three small islands in 184
the Haapai group. What might be reckoned a great thing in these small islands is not necessarily of such dimensions as to appear worthy of special comment to the inhabitant of a larger place. Much ado about nothing.

340. E seea ae namu Nomuka: Nomuka mosquitoes will be 539
driven away. 825

The island of Nomuka, one of the southernmost of the Haapai group, is deservedly famous for its mosquitoes. The expression is used for that which is very difficult. It is easier to keep the mosquitoes off oneself in Nomuka than to do so-and-so. (Compare Nos. 370, 358 and 133.)

341. Foa ulu efu: Foa dusty head.

This is an abusive epithet applied to the people of Foa in Haapai. It 539
makes a Foa man angry and does not seem applicable to any peculiarity 578
discoverable today in the people or their island, which is large and very 184
fertile. A story is told which refers the origin of the expression to a combat between two chiefs of Foa. One hit the other on the head with his club and made a cloud of dust fly out. It is also said the yams in Foa have large heads with plenty of room for the dirt to lodge when they are dug up; but this strikes one as being rather the finding of fresh cases to which to apply the abuse than the explanation of its origin.

342. Hange ko Fakatoutoa: Like Fakatoutoa. 539

Fakatoutoa is a place in the sea near Nomuka, in the Haapai Group, 823
where rough water is frequently encountered. Used proverbially of rough seas. (See No. 332.)

343. Hilinga mo Tolu koe motu tokanoa: It becomes Tolu, an island that lies right out of the way.

Tolu is a small group of islets lying at a considerable distance from any other portion of the Tonga Islands and is, moreover, rather inaccessible
and out of the usual track of boats. The expression as it stands, is ellip- [183]

539 This tree in Pulotu is called by the Tongans the *puko lea*, speaking
773 *puko*, and it is curious that a tree in Samoa which has an equivalent name
571 (*pu'a*) and which is apparently the same tree, is called *pu'angan,ana*,
824 speaking *pu'a*. (Krämer, Samoa-Inseln, II Band, p. 381.)

RELIGION

539 370. **E unua e tevolo:** The devil will be shifted.
776 Applied to one who is very hard to move. The idea is that it would
157 be easier to shift a devil than such a one, hard as devils are to move. (Compare Nos. 358, 340 and 133.)

539 371. **Fahu ae tapu:** The prohibition is removed.
554 The word *fahu*, which is of great importance in the understanding of
565 the social organization, indicates broadly rights enjoyed by reason of super-
784 ior family rank. A tabu can be removed by one who has this superiority to the one who imposed it, and *fahu* thus comes to be a technical word for the removal of tabu. As a question this phrase is used to rebuke one who has presumed to do that which he should not.

539 372. **Faka-momoa-tea:** White fowl fashion.
825 This seems to be the literal translation, taking *momoa* as the redupli-
787 cated form of *moa*, fowl. The white fowl is said to be an omen bird. There are two principal senses in which the word is used; first, ominous,
201 presaging evil; second, to weep for the living as though they were dead.

539 373. **Hange ko Hina:** Like Hina.
776 Hina was one of the most talked of goddesses, as Jinilau was one of
773 the most talked of gods. Both are represented as very beautiful. Should a discussion arise as to the identity of a goddess in a tale the story was likely to be finally credited to Hina. Similarly Jinilau would probably be
[829] hit on if the name of a male diety were in question. So to say that anyone is like Hina means that he is much talked of, or much abused.

539 374. **Hia i Fanakava:** Criminal in Fanakava.
778 Fanakava was the name of a very famous sanctuary in Mua, the chief
681 district of Tongatabu, and the home of the Tui Tonga and of other great lords. Up to the introduction of Christianity Fanakava afforded an inviolable sanctuary to all who gained it. The expression indicates a person guilty of some offense but secure from punishment.

539 375. **Ji e he tevolo:** The devil pushing.
776 Used sarcastically to one who is making a poor apology for his bad conduct, "H'm, the devil shoved you into it." This phrase, which is recent,
183 is said to have originated with a man who went visiting a lady he should not have visited, and who, when put on trial for his conduct, defended himself by saying that he went to the woman without knowing what he was doing and that he supposed the devil must have thrust him into the house.

376. **Jio pe ka kuo i A'a:** Seeing but in A'a; equivalent to day-dreaming, absent-minded. 539 776 825 774

A'a is an island in Vavau where resided the two female deities Jiji and Faingaa, who used to appear in the form of the dark and light-colored heron respectively and to take the spirits of handsome men to their island. The bodies of the beaux thus deprived of their spirits would see and hear and to all appearance be carrying out their normal functions, but their souls were really far away.

377. **Mamahii tapu ka kuo ilo:** Solicitous for the tabu, but knowing. 539 784

This indicates one who is genuinely desirous of observing a tabu, but who knowing the value or charm of the thing prohibited is irresistibly attracted by it and may in the end even break the tabu. The story of Eve and the fruit has been quoted in illustration of this.

378. **Mana hoo tevolo:** May your devil have power (*mana*). 539 776

A threat of an angry man to another. Your god will need plenty of power to protect you from what I am going to do to you. In its present form it is modern, but with the substitution of some oher word for *tevolo* (devil) may well be ancient. Another form of the same phrase is *Manamana hoo tevolo ke ta fai,* May your devil have power for us to do (strive together). The meaning of the two phrases is the same. Either expression may be preceded by *Ofa ke,* I hope that.

379. **Ngali pe tevolo moe pouli:** Devil just befitting the darkness

Sprites and ghosts and supernatural appearances usually show up at night. Applied to a person with a bad reputation to whom all sorts of bad actions are likely to be imputed. Having once got the reputation of a devil he is liable to be made to carry the blame for any fresh deed of darkness.

380. **·Pekepeka-tama.** 539 825 787 565 561 136

This indicates the white flying-fox said to be an omen of disaster to the house of Ata the chief of Kolovai in the west of Tongatabu, and thence used generally of an omen, portent. The words seem literally to mean, Flying-fox lad, as though one were addressing the observation to another. *Tama,* lad, is frequently applied to chiefs irrespective of age, as *taahine,* girl, is used of chiefly woman. *Pekepeka* is the usual name for the swift (*Collocallia spodiopyga*), but in this instance seems to be a reduplicated form of *peka,* the flying fox.

381. **Tevolo hala he jikota:** A devil making a road of a kingfisher, that is, manifesting himself through the kingfisher (*Halcyon sacra*). 539 776 825 571 136

The habit of calling the old gods "devils" dates only from the introduction of Christianity. As this expression implies the kingfisher was one

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539 of the creatures of which the gods "made boats," as Tongan idiom has it,
776 that is, in which they appeared. The proverb is applied to one who makes
use of some other person or thing in order to effect his purpose.
825

571 **382. To fuji aki vahaa ufi:**

539 Baker renders this phrase, "A part of the heathen ceremony at the
782 *Inaji*" (An English and Tongan and Tongan and English Vocabulary, p.
244 209). We have been able to find out nothing about this. Written as above it seems to have the perfectly simple sense of planting plantains between yams. It has been suggested that the correct meaning may be: to use the space between the yams as a measure to calculate the distance apart to plant the plantains. This also is quite in accordance with the literal meaning of the words. We may divide differently, and write, *Tofuji aki vahaa ufi*, which would seem to mean, "running in between yams." We have not discovered either what part of the *Inaji* was so named, nor what proverbial application the phrase had.

THE PERSON

CLOTHING AND ADORNMENT

539 **383. Fie namu pako:** Wishing to smell of *pako*.

302 The *pako* is a sweet smelling plant used for scenting oil, especially the
157 oil of chiefs. The expression is capable of two kinds of application: desir-
554 ing to do well that one's life and actions may have a fragrant odor, and the
565 less generous meaning of conceit, trying to be like the chiefs.

539 **384. Fuji mo omo:** Pulling and slipping.

735 Used as noun or adjective equivalent to poverty, poor. Said to indi-
291 cate literally one who is so poor that he cannot afford enough cloth for a proper sized *vala* (kilt), but has to put up with something so small that when he pulls it one way to cover a part of his body another part is left bare. Whether this be so or not it has come to mean those who have difficulty in "making ends meet."

539 **385. Laukau falelava:** Finery of various sorts.

291 *Laukau*, personal adornment, is used with the rather depreciatory
301 nuance with which in English we speak of overdone, or over-vivid finery. *Laukau falelava* is not unlike such a colloquialism as, "Having 'em all on."

539 **386. Mafana a penu kehe:** Warmth of another's bed-clothes.

421 One man may have made himself very snug in another's covering, but
513 can have no real ground of complaint when the rightful owner comes along and takes what belongs to him, leaving the snug man cold. So generally one may enjoy the advantage of using another man's property but he has no kick coming when the owner takes it to use for himself.

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480. **Tala tae fai tuunga:** Talk without making standing place, that is, to report something without adducing grounds of belief. 539 829 521

481. **Tala tae fakaejia:** Talk without putting a handle to it, that is, to tell something without adducing any proof or grounds of belief.

Baker understands the "handle" to one's talk to refer to appropriate action following on words, and translates the phrase, "To say and do not; to say one thing but do the contrary." The expression probably lent itself to both uses.

482. **Tauange mo koe:** I sincerely desire of you. 539

This is hardly a proverbial expression but is freely used in earnest entreaty. 521

483. **Vale tala vale:** Fool telling fool; one fool upbraiding another for his folly.

Used like similar expressions in English. (See No. 427.)

483a. **Oku longo a Tonga:** Tonga is silent.

Tongans are not in the habit of talking while eating and so this phrase is applied jocularly to a party of Tongans sitting silent at a meal. It is said to have been first applied by Fijians. [264]

DISEASE AND MEDICINE

484. **Avanga kai ate:** Possession (by a spirit) consuming liver. 539

The liver is reckoned the seat of life and of at least some of the passions. The term *avanga* is applied to those illnesses which are caused by demonic possessions. Proverbially this phrase is applied to the yearning and distress of intense love. 826 753 787

It is worthy of note that in ceremonies the liver of a slaughtered pig is taken and presented to the chief. This is stated to be a presentation to the chief of the whole of the pig's life. (See also No. 485.) [832] [622] [825]

485. **Kuo toona hoku ate:** My liver is baked. 539

This indicates distress. My life is consumed, wasted away. 826

486. **Foki mei he uhi:** Returning from the *uhi*. 539

Restoration to health from an apparently hopeless sickness. The *uhi* *(Evodia hortensis)* is largely used in native medicine, so largely that it perhaps stands here as the type of a drug which will be tried without much expectation of its proving efficacious when the practitioners are at their wits' end. 757 [137]

request," in some uncertainty as to whether to make the request or not. 539
Baker, however, gives the somewhat cryptic forensic phrase, "Generally re- 152
peated; used when two persons report their cases, and the one hearing is 571
alike affected by both." (An English and Tongan Vocabulary, p. 207.) 695

624. Fe-toutou-mo-liliu-aki: "To wander to and fro" (Baker). 539
Constantly changing or going to and fro. 157

Of the different elements of this compound *toutou* is usually employed today as an adverb meaning constantly, repeatedly. Baker gives "alternate" as another meaning, and also has it as a verb, to reciprocate. *Mo* is the conjunction and *liliu* means to change; *fe-* and *-aki* are regularly used as prefix and suffix to make verbs reciprocal or reflexive. The whole word therefore seems to denote a very high degree of instability in opinion or conduct.

625. Hange ha mumu hulu: Like trying to get warm at a fire of 539
dried leaves; a fire that flares up and quickly dies down. 183

Generally of that which makes a great show but is not solid and enduring.

626. Jio kalo jio: Seeing, warning off seeing.

The seeing indicated is that of looking after one's own interests. A [571]
man, in order to get something for himself, goes to a place where he has
no particular right to be and tries to drive off another who is doing the
same thing.

627. Maka fetoliaki: Chipping rock with rock. 539

Baker translates the phrase, "To be of one mind; to use freely from 571
each other's stores." To be of mutual benefit. It is explained as meaning
literally to chip off a piece from one stone with another and then to take
that piece and use it to chip a fragment from a third rock, and so on.
Thus to pass a benefit on from one to another. This was illustrated by the [797]
coming of Christianity, brought by Europeans to Tonga, and taken by Tong-
ans to Samoa and Fiji, and by Fijians to the Solomon Islands. [648]

628. Makaka noa: Hard to no purpose. 539

Noa, here translated "to no purpose" is a very largely used word, and 183
extremely difficult to translate by an exact English equivalent. It is used in 829
all sorts of contexts with such senses as purposeless, valueless, unreliable,
being where one has no business to be, acting as one should not. In the
phrase above the idea is that of a thing being hard where it should be
pliable and soft. The phrase may be applied to that whose conduct is un-
expected, not of a piece with the general behavior of the class of things to
which it belongs. For example, the outlandish behavior of the goat has [825]
won this epithet for it. It may be used of one who goes with great vim
into some job that is not really his concern.

805 three generations since this happened" or "It occurred when my father's father was a child."

A general word for long ago, ancient times, is *onoaho*, as *onoponi* is used for recent time, the present age. There are several expressions for remote antiquity, as, *Hau o Momo* (when Momo was king), *Hau o Tuitatui* (when Tuitatui was king), *Hau o Muni Matamahae* (when Muni of the Torn Eye was king), *Hau o Motuku Veevalu* (when Motuku Veevalu, literally Eight-legged, was king). There are of course other words meaning uncountable, long enduring, which may be used to express the same idea of remotest antiquity.

SEASONS AND MONTHS

The Tongan year is said to have begun at about the same time as the Christian year, though no satisfactory explanation is given.
[171] Gill[11] states that the Mangaians begin their year about the middle of December, the point of departure being marked by the appearance of the Pleiades on the eastern horizon just after sunset. This or some similar astronomical phenomenon may possibly have determined the beginning of the Tongan year.

The two broad divisions of the year, in one of which the days
[821] and nights are cooler than in the other, were recognized and used
[132] to classify seasons. Close observation of the habits of plants and
805 of animals provided a basis for more exact division. The times
824 when certain trees cast their leaves, flowered, or bore fruit were
825 utilized in making the calendar, as were also the periods when par-
805 ticular fish appeared. The greatest importance attaches to the
244 various stages of the growth of the yam. A large part of the
nomenclature of the moons is based on seasonal changes observed
in this plant.

The normal year consisted of twelve months, though some
805 years had thirteen. The nomenclature is largely agricultural, but there seems no reason to doubt the statement that the names were applied to the moons. The months and the commonly received explanations of their names are as follows:

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[113] [11] Gill, W. W., Myths and songs from the South Pacific, p. 317, London, 1876.

caught when wild-eyed, shrieking children are allowed to 231
hunt them down. [857)

There are a few dogs and a few cats in the village. The villager however, shows little interest in animals that are neither a potential source of food nor of value in lightening the burden of work.

There is no snaring of wild birds nor any attempt to 224
make wild birds a part of the dietary. Flying-foxes are 262
abundant on the higher cliffs of the island. Only one man in [223)
the village, a native of Niuafo'ou, shows any interest in these
as an article of food. He occasionally traps them by
knocking them with a pole into a net. None of the villagers
has bothered to learn the technique. Part of the reason for
this may lie in the fact that in ancient Tonga the flying-fox [825]
was one of the animals sacred to the Tongan deities. Possibly [776)
there has been a survival of this *tapu* attitude toward the [784)
flying-fox even though the villager is not aware of the reason [178)
for this attitude.

ECONOMIC EDUCATION

The growing child is inducted into the economic 868
activities of the group very gradually and without many tears. He or she takes on economic duties according to the strength and skill at the moment. Thus, the six year old girl can start a fire and wash a few clothes though she will as yet make no attempt at cooking. The eight or nine year old boy is already being sent independently to the bush plantation to bring back food and firewood. By this age he is certainly capable of rendering assistance to the household in agricultural work. How much assistance he does render depends largely on the make-up of the household (on the number, that is, of able-bodied adult men in the group) and his ability to disappear with a gang of playmates whenever he senses his services may be in demand. A girl of twelve is already a good cook and housekeeper although she will not yet have learned to make mats. She will begin to learn mat-making techniques between the ages of twelve and sixteen, depending upon the interest of the mother as well as of the girl herself and her industriousness. She will have learned already the techniques of beating out bark cloth though the skills involved in stencilling such cloth and preparing the

203 621 tianity changed the face of the land the *fono* took the place
208 of written law. The *matabules*, hereditary censors of public
[565] morals, summoned a *fono* to lecture the young chiefs
[577] whenever they had made a wider breach of the proprieties
than their rank permitted. Nowadays its uses are various.
621 In every village at six o'clock on Monday mornings there
623 are *fonos*, at which the mayor reads out Government
651 orders, and urges diligence on the defaulting taxpayers.
621 There are Premier's *fonos* and king's *fonos*, the latter being
203 very solemn functions, only adopted in cases of great
[645] national importance; but in all *fonos* alike no discussion
[643] is allowed, and the people are only summoned to hear
what those set in authority choose to tell them.

The chief's orders of old were published abroad by the crier (*fanongonongo*), and this custom is revived whenever Government orders have to be proclaimed without the formality of a public meeting; but this time-honoured method is not often resorted to on account of the inaccuracy to which the human memory is subject. When Mr Baker promulgated his Wild Birds Protection Act, he instructed the criers to cry the preamble and a *résumé* of the Act—That whereas certain birds, particularly specified, were of public utility as the destroyers of worms, fleas, and other noxious insects, they were not to be killed on pain of heavy penalties. But the crier's version was: "Hear me, all people. It is the command of the Government—worms, fleas, and all creeping things are useful, so also are birds, therefore it is ordained that they shall not die; whosoever shall kill any bug, or flea, or worm, or bird, or other such thing, shall be grievously punished."
[825] It is right to say that the Tongans received the order

without surprise, for the protection of insects seemed to 621
them quite as reasonable as the protection of birds, or 203
indeed as any other of Mr Baker's statutes. 825

On our return to Tongatabu we found the air surcharged 521
with the gossip of the *faikava*. Two noblemen and the 578
Government bandmaster, all disaffected for different rea- 208
sons, had filled the islands with a story that ran as follows: "The Government was lying when it said that it was in want of money, for had not the Premier, when he opened the Treasury, found a bag containing a hundred thousand sovereigns, and hidden them for the use of the Cabinet Ministers? Was he not deceiving the people when he told them to pay their taxes, or their country would be ruined?" "Mr Baker has gone to America, and has told the President what Britain has done, and he will come back in an American man-of-war to try the High Commissioner, and punish his enemies." "A British official is in Tonga to pay Tukuaho for betraying the country, and to arrange for annexation." It was plain that a *fono* must be held to cleanse the political atmosphere.

My colleague did not dare to summon the entire island 621
to a *fono* without the express sanction of the king, so he 203
determined to assemble the mayors from every village, 623
knowing that they would carry an embroidered version 645
of his speech to their constituents. Shortly after sunrise on the appointed day horsemen poured into the town, and tethered their horses outside the disused church at Pangai whither we were called to address them. As we entered the building at the pulpit end a policeman cried "*Koe Palemia*," and the mayors rose and saluted

already they were asking why they should not elect 797
one of themselves as President of their "Conference," 795
and why their salaries should be lower than that of their 793
white brother. From this it is only a step to a new
and original interpretation of the Scriptures, and to a
bastard Christianity like the Hauhauism of the Maories
and the Tuka of Fiji.

Our three great *fonos* were a decided success. We rode 621
first to Hihifo with an informal escort of mounted police 645
and clerks, not excepting the faithful spy, Peter. Tungi, [493]
being past the age and figure for equestrian exercise, [492]
travelled in an American buggy, which stuck fast every
now and then in the deep mud caused by the rains, while
we rode on at the untiring canter that is the easiest pace
for Tongan ponies. Few of our escort had girths, and not [492]
all had saddles, but this did not seem to incommode them
in the least. We reached Kolowai, the chief town, plastered
with mud, and halted under the celebrated colony of
flying-foxes. They were a revolting sight. Four great 825
banyan and ironwood trees shaded the road, and these
were covered with the living fruit so thickly clustered
that the branches drooped with their weight. Thousands
upon thousands hung there from their hind-claws, sleeping,
crawling, squealing, quarrelling, stretching their
uncanny sails, and scratching their light-brown heads
with a winged claw. The leaves and the grass beneath
the trees had long ago been killed by their unwholesome
presence; and the stench was so overpowering that we
had to edge to windward. They are *tabu*—Heaven knows
why, for they do immense damage to the plantations—
and they are never shot at. Formerly, it is said, they

825 frequented some *Toa*-trees near to the sea, but the great battle fought there in May 1799 frightened them away, and they chose to emigrate to the large trees in the centre of the town. Ata told me that at sunset half go away to feed, while the others keep guard during their absence, but that they never fail to come back about midnight to take their turn of sentry-duty. Without vouching for this as a scientific fact, I can bear witness that they fly beyond Nukualofa, thirteen miles away, for hundreds of them were shot at nightfall as they flew in a continuous string towards the Government banana plantations near the lagoon. One thus brought down had a little one clinging to her body, befurred and bewinged, a perfect miniature of its mother. In a few days it became perfectly tame, and at night showed no inclination to leave the verandah where it hung in the daytime.

621 The *fono* was held opposite Ata's house. Only tax-
645 payers were summoned, but they numbered several hun-
208 dreds, and included a few women—widows—holding tax-
203 allotments. They formed a compact semicircle, each bringing a cocoa-nut-leaf to sit upon. On the outside of the ring a few policemen, armed with thick batons, stood
[195] erect in attitudes of stern attention. We, the authorities, sat in a row in the verandah and addressed the crowd in turn,—Tukuaho in mood of suave conditional, I in bald indicative, and Ata, their chief, in uncompromising im-
[651] perative. Taxes,—we must have taxes, or—many terrible
[651] things would happen. Tonga would lose her independence for one thing, and the police would come and sell by auction the property of defaulters for another. I am bound to confess that the latter threat appeared to be the more

231 One result of the introduction of horses has been the
137 almost entire destruction of the bread-fruit-tree throughout Tonga. The glutinous sap is irresistible to horses,
and they greedily tear off the bark as far up the trunk
as they can reach, of course killing the tree.

The men ride like centaurs, but, unlike centaurs, they
231 have no hands. As a consequence, the Tongan pony
492 has no mouth. Almost as soon as the boys can walk
they are galloping barebacked, with no bridle but a rope
knotted round the horse's nose. Grown men generally
use a saddle of some kind without girths or surcingle,
[562] and too often without stuffing. The women have not
yet taken to riding like their cousins in Hawaii, who
have even converted the European women of the place
to trousers and a man's saddle.

The people are as cruel to their animals as the Egyp-
231 tian donkey-boys. A sore back is never thought a reason
825 for sparing a horse. I have seen ponies returning from
the plantations in the evening with a basket of yams
slung on either side with a sinnet cord, which was cutting
deep into a bleeding raw on the withers. I stopped the
man and tried to convince him of his brutality. He was
simply incapable of comprehending the idea of cruelty to
animals,—an idea which, after all, is only found among
the stricter Buddhists and the Anglo-Saxons, and with
the latter is but the growth of a single century.

The wheel traffic of Tonga has increased enormously.
493 Every man who can afford it has a cart, the richer natives
[491] American buggies. In wet weather the wheels cut the
soft grass-roads into rivers of mud, in which the wheels
are logged to the axle-trees. On such roads the heaviest

622 One of our excursions was to the colony of
643 flying-foxes at Hihifo, where I wished to renew
my acquaintance with old Ata, the hereditary
lord of the western district, who had not been
on cordial terms with the king since the royal
[103] marriage. His village lies upon the shores of
Maria Bay, so named by Tasman when he discovered
the island in 1643, and it is close to
Kanakubolu, where the temporal kings were
always crowned, and from which they take their
[824] title of Tui Kanakubolu. The ancient tree
under which they sat was overthrown (*absit
omen*) in a gale a few years ago, and the present
king caused pieces of the wood to be inlaid in
825 the throne of the royal chapel. But the feature
of the place is the flying-fox colony. Four or
five great *toa* trees stand in the village square,
and many thousands of these great fruit-eating
bats roost there in the sunshine, hanging head
downward like noisome fruit, crawling, scratching,
quarrelling, killing the foliage with their
droppings and poisoning the air with their reek.
At nightfall they set forth in long procession for
the banana plantations, levying toll on them as
far as Mua, fifteen miles distant, and returning to
[778] their perch before daybreak. In no sense are
[777] they sacred, and away from the colony they may

be shot, but it is inauspicious to shoot them in 825
the village itself, because then they would go [778]
away and dire misfortune would happen. For [777]
every great family in Tonga has its death portent; [763] with the Fatafehi it is the splitting of a great banyan tree; with the Tui Kanakubolu it is the roar of breakers on the reef in calm weather; with the Ata it is the sudden migration of the flying-foxes from the trees in Kolovai.

We had a delightful ride along the grassy 137
road shaded with orange trees ripening to harvest. On either side of the road lay wide tracts of uncultivated bush, and I was sorry to see, mingled with the matted foliage, the ill-omened pink flowers of the *Talatala hina*. In the Parliament [671] of 1891, when I sat on the Treasury bench, a panic bill had been hurried through, making it penal for any landowner to have this plant on his land after March, 1902. If the fines then provided were to be enforced now, the government would require no other source of revenue, for the plant, then confined to a small district at the back of the island, has now advanced to within a few miles of Nukualofa. It is a tough, creeping vine, armed with sharp, reflexed thorns, deep-rooted and very difficult to eradicate. Throwing its wicked arms about a young tree it thrusts

136 remember the name of that powder, to give its inventor a gratuitous advertisement! In half an hour our enemies were all upon the floor at the mercy of a soft broom and a dust-pan. We filled two buckets with their kicking bodies, and fed the kitchen fire with them. We heard next day that every house in Nukualofa, from the king's palace to the pigsties, had been made uninhabitable, but that at sunset they had disappeared, to be seen no more till next year.

795 Our escort of policemen were most obliging
798 fellows. One was a Wesleyan, the other a Free Churchman, and the friendly theological discussions in which they indulged from time to time showed that the bitter sectarian hatred, so sedulously nurtured by Mr. Baker, had quite died away. Ten years before a Wesleyan could not have hoped for the humblest government appointment.

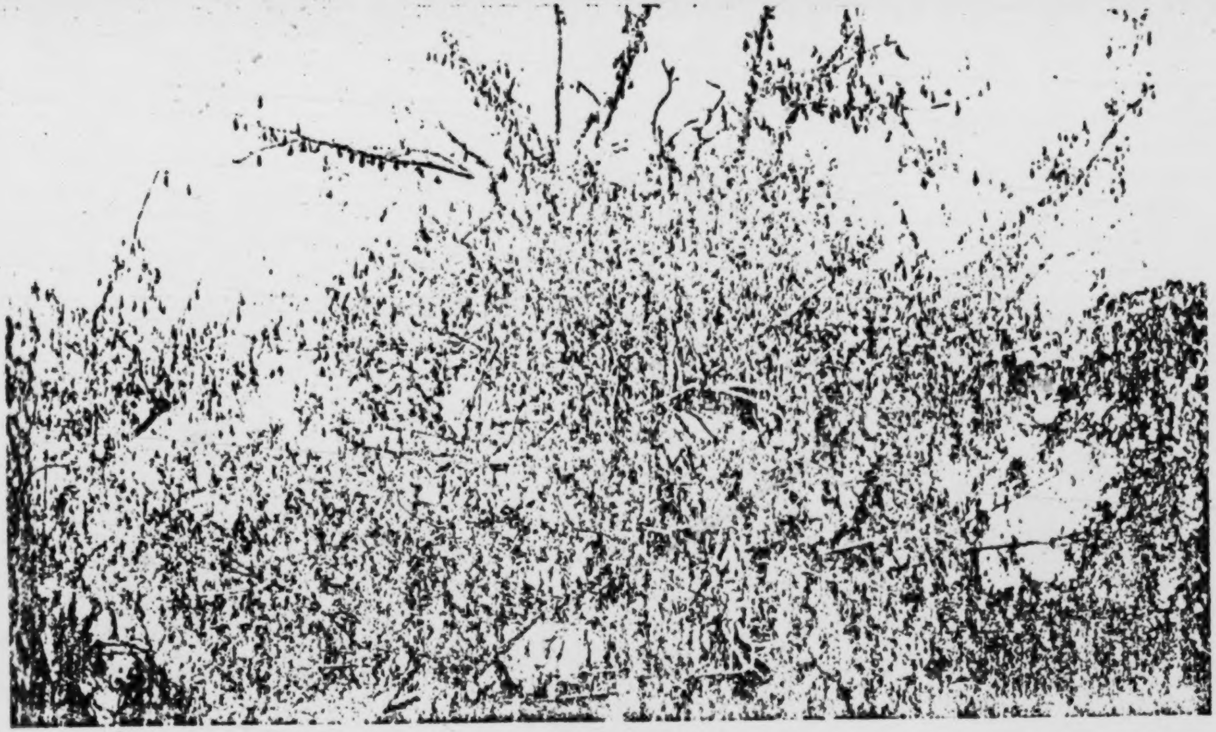
825 I was bursting with the showman's pride as we rode into Kolovai, having wrought the expectations of my companions to the highest pitch. I begged them not to look up until we halted under the trees. When I gave the word they looked up, and then they looked at me. Surely these were not the trees! But the state of the foliage left no doubt upon that point. We

called an old woman out of a neighbouring house, 825
and there was no mistaking the concern in her tone as she was telling her tale. Four days before, she said, at an hour before sunset, an albino flying-fox had circled over the village, settling at last on the branches of a tree over against the door of Ata's house. Early in the morning it had flown over the trees, and the entire colony, which was just settling down to sleep after its nocturnal excursion in search of food, took to wing and followed it. Not a flying-fox had visited the town since.

Our escort were very grave over the news. 825
"You know our belief," said Salesi; "when the 763
beka flies away, it is a sign to Ata's family. Twice have I known it so; the last time when Ata's son, who was a tutor in the Wesleyan college, died without warning, and it was always so in the time of our fathers." I found old Ata and his wife in excellent health and spirits to all outward seeming, though naturally the flying-foxes were not mentioned in our conversation. Next day Nukualofa was buzzing with the news of Ata's approaching dissolution. Ridicule of the superstition was always met with the remark, "Well, wait and see; it may not be this week, or this month, but none the less Ata has not long

15: Thomson G-3 (1836-1900) 1902
OU9 Tonga OU9

[Facing p. 202]



From a photograph by *J. Martin, Auckland*

THE COLONY OF FLYING FOXES AT KOLOVAI

They were seen on the same trees by Vason, the renegade missionary, in 1799

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15: Thomson G-3 (1886-1900) 1902
OU9 Tonga OU9

825 763 to live"—a statement which, as the old gentleman's age verged upon seventy, we were not in a position to gainsay. The king, who is as enlightened as anyone in his kingdom, was scarcely less positive. "It is one of those things," he said, "that one would fain laugh at, but it has come true so often that one is compelled, against his will, to believe it true." Well, ten days passed, and Ata attended the great council of chiefs assembled to consider the treaty, the halest and liveliest of the old gentlemen present. I noticed that while he was chaffing two members of the cabinet, the bystanders regarded him with the tender, melancholy interest which is supposed to be bestowed upon the man in the condemned cell, and this may have told upon his spirits; for certain it is that a few weeks after my departure from the islands I received the news that he was dead. That superstition will die hard, and if I were Ata's successor I would see to it that a few of the flying-foxes were caught and tied to their perches by a string.

431 609 One morning two of Kubu's nieces, accompanied by an aged duenna, brought presents from their uncle, who perhaps felt that, since his dual rôle as my friend and the king's father-in-law had been beyond his powers, some pledge of our old

16: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1921 OU9 Tonga OU9

NOTES ON TONGAN RELIGION.

By E. E. V. Collocott.

PART I.

773 THE Tongans, in common with other Polynesian peoples, have a fairly elaborate theogony, narrating the birth of great gods of Sky, Earth, Sea, and Underworld; who are in their turn, in varying degree, responsible for Tonga and the adjacent island groups, i.e., the known world. In the beginning there seem to have existed the sea and the spirit-world, Bulotu. In this primordial ocean sea-weed and soil came together and floated away to Bulotu, but thereafter separated. Between them appeared a rock called Touia-a-Futuna, of which were born four pairs of twins, male and female, named respectively Biki (Sticky, Adhesive) and Kele (Soil); Atungaki (Thrown by the hand) and Maimoa-a-Longona (Plaything of Longona); Fonu-uta (Land Turtle) and Fonu-vai (Sea Turtle); and Hemoana (Sea Wanderer) [776] and Lube (Dove). Hemoana is a well-known deity found in the sea-snake (*tuku-hali*) of whose origin another account is also given, [825] associating him more particularly with the island of Eua. This will be referred to subsequently. Each pair of twins, with the exception of Hemoana and Lube, married within itself, and begot progeny. The first child of Biki and Kele was a son, Taufulifonua (Oversetter of Lands, or War the Oversetter of Lands), followed later by a daughter, Havea-lolo-fonua (Havea of the Underworld). The second and third pair of twins begot each a daughter, named respectively Vele-lahi (Great Desire?) and Vele-jii (Little Desire?). At this point in the story intervenes the creation by unrecorded means of a land Tonga-mamao (Distant Tonga), by Biki and Kele as a home for their two children, Taufulifonua and Havea-lolofonua, to whom was born the important deity Hikuleo (probably Echo). Tradition is not quite certain as to whether Hikuleo were a god or goddess, but the general suffrage seems in favour of the female sex. The two other females of this generation, Vele-lahi and Vele-jii, were also mated with Taufulifonua, and became the mothers respectively of Tangaloa and Maui. Tongan tradition speaks of four Tangaloa, namely, Tama-bouli-alamafoa (Child of the Dark when Dawn is near), Eitumatubua, Tangaloa-tufunga (Tangaloa the Craftsman) and Tangaloa Atulongolongo.

[p. 152]

Tangaloa the Craftsman would seem to be the especially representative 773
type, as Tangaloa was the god of carpenters, who before eating used
to throw a small piece upwards, saying, "for Tangaloa." The plover [776]
is sacred to him, that being the shape in which he visited earth, [322]
Tangaloa Atulongolongo being the member of the family spoken of as [264]
paying such visits.

The Maui, too, are regarded as a group rather than as a single god. [782]
The stories mention Maui-loa (Long Maui), Maui Buku (Short Maui), [825]
and Maui Atalanga, who is the father of Maui Kijikiji, the most
famous of the Maui, noted for his mischievous disposition, for his 776
immense strength, and for the priceless boon he bestowed on mortals 773
in stealing fire from the Underworld and bringing it up to earth. His father Atalanga, too, performed the signal service of thrusting the sky up high above the earth. Previously men had to go on all fours like the beasts, but as the price of a drink of water which he begged from a woman in Vavau he raised the sky to its present elevation. Atalanga is associated with Kijikiji, but always in a subordinate role, in a number of exploits which rid the world of certain dangerous animals and plants, especially notable being the great man-eating dog of Fiji. This feat is also credited to the hero Muni of the Torn-eye. Muni's mother was thrown into the sea before his birth, and the child was cast ashore on the island of Lofanga in Haapai, where a plover pecked at his eye as he lay on the beach. Hence the sobriquet of Torn-eye. In the case of both Maui's and Muni's adventure with the man-eating dog, the hero slays the monster and then dies himself; Maui in grief that the beast had devoured his father, and Muni because this fate had overtaken his devoted Fijian henchman. The bones of the Maui, father and son, became the father, by a Fijian woman, Sinailele, of a still mightier hero, Tui-motuliki, who came to Tonga, and was the progenitor of a line of gentry in attendance on the Tui Tonga. Legend mentions also another Maui, Maui Motua (Old Maui), who appears as the father of Maui Atalanga, and the guardian of the fire stolen by Kijikiji from the Underworld.

Between Hikuleo, Tangaloa, and Maui were divided Bulotu, Sky, 776
and Underworld. Hikuleo received as her portion Bulotu (the 773
Polynesian Paradise), abode of the souls of chiefs and great people.
To Tangaloa was assigned the Sky, and to Maui the Underworld. To 772
the fourth pair of the original twins, Hemoana and Lube, were given the Sea and the Land and Forests. Hikulea was bound by a great cord, one end being held by the Tangaloa in the sky, and the other by the Maui in the Underworld. The earth would have been destroyed by a visit from her, hence the precautions to keep her at home.

Especially connected with the Tangaloa is the plover, and embodied 776
in this bird one of them was wont to visit the earth. His visits [825]
commenced before the creation of the islands known to the Tongans.

from gods of populous tribes down to deities the private possession of 776
a very few. Naturally, the gods of which one is best able to glean
information are those whose devotees were fairly numerous. At the
best all that we can get to-day is probably only a glimpse at the old
pantheon. But this remnant is doubtless typical, and furnishes a fair
idea of the beliefs of old Tonga, as well as interesting parallels with
other parts of Polynesia.

The apparatus of worship consisted of a temple, apparently in 778
some instances situated amongst trees just outside the village. Too
much must not be made of this, however, as the villages which [368]
one sees to-day are of modern growth, and in earlier days the [361]
population was more scattered. There was at least one sacred grove. [178]
In the temples were kept sacred objects, such as war weapons, stones,
pieces of wood, more or less roughly carved, and often painted with
yellow turmeric. Several fine mats were indispensable, carefully 778
preserved to be spread for the reception of the visiting god in the 285
same way as a household brings out its good mats for a distinguished
mortal visitor. At times of worship these mats were spread, and the [825]
priest sat either on or beside them, whilst the sacred objects of the
temple were displayed on the mats, particularly, if possible, the
animal or what not which was specially sacred to the god to whom
the appeal was being made. The role of the totem was to act as a 787
vehicle whereby the god might bring himself into physical relation
with the material surroundings of human life. The Tongan words 778
used to express the presence of the god in the object sacred to him [825]
signifies his "coming in" it, or "using it as a boat." These material
objects are seldom, most probably never, the god himself. This,
however, is by now so much a commonplace as scarcely to need
restatement in the case of any particular people. Not less was the 787
god actually present in the inspired priest. Evidently there were
others outside of the regular priesthoods who were liable to inspirations. [793]
To the present day some forms of sickness are believed to [753]
be due to demonic possession. So far as my personal observation in
Tonga goes possession seems now to be always maleficent, but a
native connected by blood with Fiji affirms that in that group there
are exemplary and devout Christians who receive helpful accessions of
divine influence from sources not usually included in any scheme of
orthodox theology.

There were priests or priestesses connected with the various cults, 787
who acted as the mouthpieces of the gods, and whose frenzied
inspiration seems to have been the really important part of the 793
divine manifestation. There are asserted to have been deities without [776]
any sacred animal or other object, but the accuracy of this statement
is doubtful. The trembling body, foaming mouth, and wild eyes of [154]

mark as she grew, and of the wonderful beauty which made her the 773
wife of one Tui Tonga and the mother of another, does not concern
our present purpose. It seems, too, that women became pregnant by
bathing in a pond sacred to the god Tui Haafakafonua.

Tattooing has largely fallen into disuse amongst modern Tongans. 304
Indeed some seem to be uncertain whether it be a thing of home [178]
growth, or an exotic introduced from Samoa, where it is still
extensively practised. It is undoubtedly certain, however, that [177]
tattooing was common in Tonga at least a century ago. So far I have
been able to find only one instance where the markings had a clear 304
totem or religious significance, namely in the tattooing of the bird 771
called the *kalae* (a rail) on the throat of the priest connected with his 825
worship. Something more will be said later about the individual
gods, but the people who held the *kalae* sacred were in the habit of
tying together a bunch of these birds, and taking it about with them.
Such a bunch of sacred birds was tattooed on the throat of the priest.
In general the artists who performed the operation of tattooing chose 304
their designs in accordance with their individual notions of beauty, 531
and gained reputation by the artistry of their work. Although most
of the gods had their sacred animal, or other object, it is not certain 555
whether this was quite universal, there apparently being deities 776
whose manifestation was merely through their priests; but a negative
is ever hard to prove, and after hearing in one quarter that a 778
particular god had no sacred animal one may later stumble on an 825
informant able to supplement his previous information. There are [793]
also cases where it is remembered that a particular animal was
sacred, but nobody seems to know to what god. However, from time
to time there may come opportunities to rectify some at least of the
gaps in the tradition.

The best illustration of what I have been so far able to gather 124
about the old Tongan deities can be given by setting forth what my
informants have told me. These notes make no claim to completeness,
and fuller information may supplement, or correct, much of what
follows. It is, however, probably a fair sample, giving generally
correct outlines of the native's outlook on his religion, however
inadequate it may be in details. Unfortunately the time when
reliable information can be gathered about many matters interesting
to the student of primitive practices is fast slipping away. There are
living to-day very few Tongans able to give a trustworthy and full
account of any part of the older faith, and of those who, from motives
of patriotism or intelligent curiosity, have been interested in hearing
and remember what they could of their people's past, hardly one has
himself witnessed anything of the ancient practices. Where possible
both the names of the gods and of their sacred objects have been
given, but there are instances in which one or the other has been
forgotten by the Tongans with whom I have discussed these matters.

II.—INDIVIDUAL GODS.

776 **Bulotu Katoa.** Bulotu was the Tongan Paradise. As already
related its chief deity was Hikuleo, but it was the home also of spirits
[772] of the departed, evidently only of chiefs and great people, to whom
[775] perhaps some sort of worship was paid. Sometimes one hears of a
being called Tui Bulotu, i.e., King of Bulotu, but of him I have been
[114] able to learn nothing. Mariner calls him a minor god of the sea and
of voyages, and protector of Finau's family. Tuivakano, the Premier
of Tonga, suggests that some of the gods mentioned by Mariner are
[775] really the illustrious dead. In spite of the name Tui Bulotu there
does not seem any reason to disturb the sovereignty of Hikuleo in
Bulotu, home of wondrous plenty, of the life-giving water, Vai-Ola,
Water of Life, into which the spirits of the dead seem to have been
dipped to restore them to life and the power of enjoying the delights
of their paradise, and of other marvels.

Bulotu Katoa, i.e., the whole of Bulotu, was the grandiloquent
name of a great deity whose principal shrine was at Boha, in the
[361] eastern part of Tongatabu. This eastern district, though not now the
seat of the capital, is the chiefly centre of the ancient polity, the
residence of the Tui Tonga, the Tui Haatakalaua, and other great
776 lords. To Bulotu Katoa the whole of Tonga resorted, the Tui Tonga
643 alone staying at home. I have heard him spoken of as the god of the
great warrior chiefs, the Tui Kanokupolu, who in process of time and
[782] change supervening on the coming of the European have displaced
the Tui Tonga, but the real position seems rather to have been that
whoever for the time being was most powerful, whether the Tui
Kanokupolu or another chief, took the lead in national supplication to
this great god, to avert the calamities of hurricane, drought, and
776 famine. As a matter of fact Kuku, a very ancient and blue-blooded
[565] chief, was most intimately associated with the worship of Bulotu
Katoa, and two related chiefs, Tamale (the present holder of this title
[115] has given me the best information about this and many other matters;
his repute as a depository of ancient lore is probably more widely
recognised than that of any living Tongan), and Ma'olo distributed
[793] the offerings brought to the god. The name of the priest was
Takahi. When *kava* was presented to Bulotu Katoa the Tui
[276] Kanokupolu sat with the ring of outsiders at a distance from the *kava*
[574] bowl and the leaders of the ceremony.

[643] The dog was the sacred animal of this god, and during his worship
[782] a dog lay at the side of the priest. It was customary to use the word
kuli (dog) in names of Nuku's family. There is a proverbial ex-
776 pression pretty closely parallel to our English "Let sleeping dogs lie,"
which is said to have had its first application to the dog of Bulotu
825 Katoa.
[192]

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NOTES ON TONGAN RELIGION.

By E. E. V. Collocot.

PART II.

Tui Haafakafonua. This god is identified with Moso in Samoa 776
and Tutumatua in Fiji. His Tongan habitat was Maofanga, a
village near Nukualofa. When the native cults were still living [171]
Maofanga enjoyed the reputation of special sanctity. There was here
a chiefly burial ground, and the house of refuge of Tui Haafakafonua 776
was justly famous. Many, if not all, of the gods had evidently their 778
places of sanctuary, but some were not able to afford much protection [764]
to the fugitive from vengeance; they were *tutulu*, literally, leaky, but
others were not leaky, and once within their precincts the guilty man
was safe. Of these non-leaky sanctuaries that of Tui Haafakafonua
was one of the most famous.

Fakafonua is the chief of Maofanga, and Haa-Fakafonua means 776
the tribe or clan of Fakafonua. Tui Haa-Fakafonua means the king
of the tribe of Fonua, the name suggesting a close connection with the 613
tribal organisation. The sacred animal of this god was a lizard, and 776
for the convenience of his departure, and presumably arrival, a tree or
post was always provided for him to crawl along. A handy post or [825]
tree-stump was a regular part of his temple furnishings. At the end [778]
of a seance the priest clapped his hand on the post, and, evidently 793
speaking as the god, said to the worshippers "Good-bye," and then
evidently speaking as the priest to the god, again said "Good-bye," 787
using a very high chiefly term. The people, too, using this same
word, also bade the departing deity good-bye. In the native tongue of [192]
course these good-byes are very different terms as addressed to those
who are going away or to those who are remaining.

It was the priest of this god whose inspiration Tamale witnessed
as a boy. Tui Haa-Fakafonua used to appear in a pond in Maofanga, 776
and was noted for his fondness for the ladies who used to become sick
by bathing in the sacred water. It was this god to whom I referred [753]
previously as having heard that women became pregnant by bathing [842]
in his pond. Although this is not absolutely verified it seems a not
unlikely detail.

Mofuta-ae-ta'u. This deity, whose name seems literally to mean the "Proud Boastfulness of the Season," was the god of Tamale, the chief of Niutoua, in Eastern Tongatabu, who was also intimately

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776 connected with the wider worship of Bulotu Katoa. The sacred
animal of Mofuta-ae-ta'u was a great sea-eel (Toke), who dwelt in
[825] an opening of the reef opposite the village. This deity resented
anyone's appearance on the beach near his abode with the head bound
with a turban, or whitened with lime. Should anyone so disregard the
eel's feelings as thus to appear in the forbidden area he would be taken
off to the hole in the rock where the god lived. It is related of one
unlucky wight who so offended that he was born off by the enraged
god, but five days later, when his friends and relatives ashore had
finished celebrating his obsequies, he suddenly appeared amongst
them, not, however, his old, good-looking self, for the eel-god had
plucked every hair from his head.

A small fish called the *vete* was regarded as the girdle of Mafuta-
776 ae-ta'u, it being asserted that a shoal of *vete* surrounded the great eel
825 like a leaf-girdle. A similar statement is made about another fish
and one of the shark-gods, to be mentioned later. The eating of the
776 *vete* was not forbidden, but it was *tabu* for the chief Tamale to go down
to the beach on the days when it appeared. Should he neglect this
825 precaution of keeping out of the way (probably within doors) the *vete*
784 would disappear. Restrictions of this sort are not confined to Tamale.

[262] The father of the present Tamale adopted Christianity, and burnt
the temple of his god. Its furniture included fine mats, weapons of
778 war, and carefully wrought pieces of wood painted with tumeric.
[778] Probably this is a representative collection of temple treasures.

Taufa is another god of the chiefly eastern end of Tongatabu,
associated particularly with the great Tui Haatakalaua chief Tungi
776 and his family. The Tungi chieftainship is comparatively late, but
643 the title is now borne by the Tui Haatakalaua, one of the oldest and
proudest names of the Tongan nobility. The special domain of Taufa
776 was a large district called Ahau, including several important modern
[103] villages, in the east of Tongatabu. but the name is more familiar now
as that of a village at the other end of the island. One of the most
776 widely used names of the hero-king, George Tubou I., Taufa-ahau, is
said to be derived from the name of this god and his district. In
643 childhood the king was cured of a serious illness by Taufa, and
551 thereafter bore the name Taufa-ahau. This name was previously
unknown in his family, but has since been perpetuated. Taufa had a
776 famous sanctuary. It is related that, during a time of war, Niukapu,
778 a chief of very ancient lineage, fled from his foes and gained this
house of refuge. His enemies thereupon slew a man, and, with
[782] appropriate accompaniments, presented him as an offering to the god.
The priest Kautae, thinking it shame that a man who claimed
776 sanctuary with him should perish, slew his own daughter and gave
778 her to the waiting warriors, thus ransoming Niukapu. Tamale, who
related this, spoke of Kautae as having given his own life to Niukapu's
793

foes, and it is said of priests that it is better that they themselves
should die than that one who has taken refuge with them should 776
perish. Niukapu in gratitude to his deliverer told Kautae to take his 778
pick of a piece of land, but the priest instead asked Niukapu for his 793
kava, which means that in *kava* ceremonies Kautae has the right to
demand that the cup intended for Niukapu should be brought to him. 776
This practice is not very uncommon. There is an old gentleman in the 778
island of Haano, in Haapai, who, although not a chief himself, has the 793
right to demand the *kava* of a considerable number of chiefs on the
ground of their descent from his family. 276

Taufa is both a sea and a land god. In the sea he is manifested 574
as the shark, and is called Taufa-tahi, i.e., Taufa of the Sea. On 776
land he bore the name Taufa-uta, i.e., Taufa of the Land, but had no
separate sacred animal. In fact, Taufa-tahi and Taufa-uta cannot be 825
considered as two distinct manifestations of the god. Taufa was the
god, his totem was the shark, and he had his shrines ashore in which 778
he spoke through his priest. The name most commonly applied to 793
him is Taufa-tahi. Taufa's shark seems to have been a mythical sea 187
monster. Near Mua, the chief village in eastern Tongatabu, is a
place in the sea, where it is asserted that on calm days white mounds,
like the mounds heaped up over the graves of the dead, can be seen
beneath the water. This spot is called Taufa's cemetery, and here the
god, in the form of an exceedingly white shark, might be sometimes
seen.

Taufa was a notable protector of gardens. To secure the services 776
of the god the husbandman had simply to plait a coconut-leaf in the 241
semblance of a shark, and hang it up in his plantation. This placed
the garden under a *tabu* that none would dare to violate. It is said 776
that after the introduction of Christianity a man had the hardihood to 241
thrust his hand in mockery into one of these *tabu* signs; but the 784
moribund deity was not to be insulted with impunity, and soon afterwards
the sacrilegious violator, whilst bathing in the sea, had both
his arms bitten off by a shark. It is interesting to notice that the 776
priestly succession has been maintained to the present day, and a 793
Kautae is still regularly appointed.

Talini Tubou is the god of the Tui Kanokupolu, whose title is now
assumed by the constitutional ruler of Tonga. Even before the advent of 776
Christianity real power was gradually passing out of the hands of the 643
Tui Tonga into those of more active lords, notably the Tui Kanokupolu,
who was in any case a very high chief. Tubou, the royal title of the 554
Tui Kanokupolu appears in the name of the god. Kanokupolu is
itself a small village in the west of Tongatabu, but the Tui Kanokupolu 103
chieftainship has long been a much more important thing than king of
this little village would seem to imply, but the real moment of the 361
name Kanokupolu itself must doubtless be sought elsewhere. Kupolu

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361 is a widely distributed Polynesian place name. As the capital of the
modern kingdom Nukualofa is of course the residence of the Tui
[103] Kanokupolu; but the connection between this chieftainship and
[644] Nukualofa is of longer standing than merely since the establishment of
Christianity. The ancient Nukualofa was much smaller than the
present town, which includes within its boundaries a number of family
groups who inhabited areas whose names and locations are still
known.

The sacred object of Taliai Tubou is a large black volcanic pebble,
778 roughly oval in shape, now in the possession of the Wesleyan College,
Nukualofa. This stone is called Tui Ahau, i.e., King of Ahau. Its
613 headquarters were probably Kolovai, the largest town in western
[778] Tongatabu, and the home of Ata, the head of the Haa Ngata (Tribe of
Ngata), to which the Tui Kanokupolu belongs. Ahio was originally
the head of this tribe, but his influence waned by a process similar to
that by which the Tui Tonga's prestige diminished.

Besides the Tui Ahau in Nukualofa there is lying on the ground
778 in Kolovai another stone of the same kind, which enjoys a sort of twin
sanctity, and is reputed to possess the power, rather unusual in a stone,
of bringing forth little pebbles. The natives who led me to see the
stone narrated this curious circumstance with perfect gravity, but
search failed to reveal any of the fruits of petrine propagation.

These stones are of a sort not found on the coral islands of the group, and were perhaps brought from one or other of the two volcanic mountains in Haapai, Tofua and Kao.

Bekebeka-a-Tama, a flying-fox god, belonging originally to Ula, a
776 *matabule* (minor chief, or rather, great gentleman-attendant of a chief)
825 of Ahau, a village near Kolovai, in western Tongatabu, but now
transferred to Ata of Kolovai. The actual god seems to be a purely
[787] mythical flying-fox, whose appearance is an omen of disaster to Ata.
Bekabeka-a-tama is distinguished from the rank and file of flying-foxes
(*beka*) by his white colour, but I know of no one who claims ever to
824 have seen him.* In Kolovai are several casuarina trees on which the
825 flying-foxes are protected by a *tabu*, and which are covered with the
rather noisome little creatures. One or two great chiefs, however,
784 have the right of shooting them on the prohibited trees. If one falls
from the trees to the ground it is free of the *tabu*, and may be picked
up and taken away. Rumour avers that the modern small boy's awe
of the *tabu* is not sufficient to deter him from trying the effect of a
825 surreptitious missile. Should the flying-foxes desert their trees Ata
276 must make *kava* for them and so entice them home again.

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* Ata has since told me that he has several times seen a white flying-fox, most recently within the last two or three years.

Fakafumaka, or Vakafuhu, is the god of the village of Kanokupolu, 643
already mentioned as giving his title to the Tui Kanokupolu. Formerly
there stood here a tree beneath which the installation of the Tui [776]
Kanokupolu took place. A piece of wood from this tree has been used
in the construction of the throne of the Tongan kings, being let in at 643
the back of the royal seat, a symbol of the tree which once stood at the 644
back of the Tui Kanokupolu during his installation ceremony. 824

The sacred animal of this god was a little shell-fish called the *fuhu*,
but there is an obscure statement that he appeared sometimes as a 776
man and sometimes as a rock. The appearance as a man is probably
his declaring himself through the priest, but the meaning of his being 825
a rock is not clear, though it is apparently closely connected with the [787]
fuhu. [793]

An old song is still extant describing the voyage of Faka-fumaka
and Tutula, accompanied by the goddess Fai or Fai-malie, to Bulotu. 776
Fai is the real heroine of the piece, and distinguished herself not only
by her coolness and good sense in the several difficulties and dangers 533
in which they were involved during the voyage, but also by her [192]
voracious appetite in Bulotu, whence arises a proverbial expression
meaning to lick the platter clean, which in Tongan is to "lick like
Fai." Tongans, however, have no cause to regret her greediness, for, 776
having swallowed a yam in Bulotu, she returned to Tonga and gave
birth to a root that has been the progenitor of all the yams in these [824]
islands.

Haele-feke, literally "the Octopus comes," or "Coming in the
Octopus," is a god which appeared in the octopus (*feke*). He is also called [825]
Tutula, already mentioned as the companion of Faimalie and Fakafumaka in their journey to Bulotu. Haele-feke is the god of Motua-buaka (lit. Old Pig), an important *matabule* of the Tui Kanokupolu,
and of Kioa, the head of a younger branch of the same clan. The [262]
clans of Motua-buaka and Kioa, inhabiting a cluster of villages in the
western district of Tongatabu, refrained from eating the small octcpus
which is a favourite delicacy of the majority of Tongans.

The octopus god used to appear ashore in a pool called Kanakuna. 776
It is said that he changed into a lizard when travelling overland.
When an octopus appeared in this pool it was at once recognised as 825
the god, and the priestess immediately went and awaited him at the [823]
shrine, apparently a little raised platform, whither presently the people
resorted with bunches of coconuts and plaited coconut leaves and 776
earth. The priestess spoke as the octopus, and from words used by 793
an informant would seem to have imitated an octopus, presumably [825]
sprawling out in the manner of this ungainly creature.

The people of this deity not only eschewed in their own diet the [787]
flesh of the octopus, but they must not approach a place where he was 776
being eaten. If any transgressed the *tabu* he was afflicted with 784

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[827]

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776 complete baldness, which, however, could be cured by suitable
supplications. Should any of the octopus people find one of their gods
[784] dead they gave him decent and ceremonious burial in Teekiu, their
[827] head village. With this god was connected the large cowrie shell
(*bule*), from whose movements auguries were read. The connection
[766] perhaps arises from the use of the shell in octopus-fishing, or both
[237] facts have a common origin. A cowrie-shell forms the centre of the
[781] bait, which is furnished with artificial tentacles, and somewhat
resembles an octopus. This on being lowered into the water is clasped
237 by the octopus, who is then hauled up and taken.

226 Fono-ki-tangata, the god of the chief Valu and his people in
Utulau, in the central part of Tongatabu. The "*fono*" is the food
776 served with *kava*, and "*fono ki tangata*" means to use human flesh in
276 this way. When the *kava* was presented to the god a human sacrifice
782 accompanied it.

Tui Fiji, literally king of Fiji, is the god of Haa-Vakatolo, whose
776 chief is Ahomee, a village near the eastern boundary of the western
part of Tongatabu. The sacred object of the Tui Fiji is the tree
776 called *fehi* (*vesi* in Fiji), whose hard wood was a favourite with the
824 makers of spears and canoes. This tree does not flourish in Tonga,
but there are some specimens at Haavakatolo, and it is asserted that
it is impossible to get it to grow elsewhere in the group. The *fehi*, or
vesi, flourishes in Fiji.

Tradition records that on one occasion as the Haavakatolo people
773 were about to fight a neighbouring folk Tui Fiji told them to place
between themselves and their enemies a large lump of the food
prepared by burying and fermenting certain fruits; in this case
plantain. The warriors then each ate a piece of this food. None who
had partaken of this sacramental meal was to turn aside to right or to
left, or to flee from the foe. Immunity from death or serious wound
lay in keeping straight ahead. With the dictates of caution thus
urging to bold frontal attack the braves of Haavakatolo scored a
signal victory.

776 Jiji and Fainga'a are two female divinities belonging to the
Falefa, a clan of great *matabules* attached to the Tui Tonga. An old
[773] story relates their unfortunate love for a handsome yellow-haired
Samoan named Bajikole ("Folk-Lore," Vol. XXVI.). Their sacred
776 creature is the heron (*motuku*), the dark-coloured heron being the
825 incarnation of Jiji, and the light-coloured of Fainga'a. In Tonga a
pair of herons flying together, one dark and the other light-coloured,
are called Jiji and Fainga'a. It is said that formerly a pair of herons
so differentiated was no uncommon sight, but it is rarely seen now.

776 Finau-tau-iku, a god whose habitat was in the eastern end of
Tongatabu, near the chief residence of the Tui Tonga. His priest
[799] was named Mohe-ke-fie-hua (Sleep to Jest?). He is spoken of as a

god of carrying away, or who carries away, but I have heard no 776
reason for his being thus dubbed. His sacred animal was the pretty [825]
little blue and green lizard called by the Tongans *pili*.

Tau-ki-bulotu was the god of Haa-Mene-uli, a part of Niutoua, in
the east of Tongatabu. No sacred animal is known, the deity [825]
manifesting himself through his priestess, Teletele. [793]

Vai-uka also had his seat near Niutoua, but across the border in
the Tui Tonga district of Labaha (same word as the Fijian Lambasa).
He was the god of the Haa-Mofuta. Mofuta will be remembered as
occurring in the name of a neighbouring deity, Mofuta-ae-ta'u.

This god had no special temple, but the priest was consulted in 776
his own home. There was, however, a sacred grove near which
becoming silence must be preserved. The hard black volcanic pebbles, 778
valued on account of their durability as heating stones for the ovens, [252]
and also used in the adornment of graves, were sacred to him, and [764]
the ground within the grove was strewn with these votive offerings.
These pebbles must of course be brought from one of the distant [782]
volcanic islands. Vai Uka was much resorted to by the sick. The
priest stroked the seat of affliction with the happiest results. It is not 776
clear how far these cures can claim to be supernatural, as such 755
soothing massage is still a regular part of Tongan medical practice. [757]
The god's pharmacopœia is strongly parallel too to the healing art of
mere mortals in its employment of a liniment whose manufacture and
use are far from being divine secrets.

Tui Olotau, King of Olotau, god of Olotau, the piece of ground 776
on which stands the well-known trilithon, the Haamonga-a-Maui
(The Burden carried on the Shoulders of Maui), in the eastern part of 349
Tongatabu. His sacred animal was the sea-snake, which is also
connected with Hemoana. If a sea-snake were seen ashore the people 776
knew that it was no ordinary sea-snake, but the god. 825

The *kalae*, a rail sacred to the Tui Tonga. I have not been able to
find out the name of the inspiring deity. The worshippers of this [643]
bird used to take about with them a bunch of *kalae*, and, as already
mentioned, the priest had one of these bunches tattooed on his throat. [304]

This bird's crying at night was an omen of death, and in this 825
connection he was called by the sinister name of *Fata*, the Bier. The
home near which he was heard would be the scene of death, and as he 763
flew away the direction from which his note was heard was an
indication of the situation of the cemetery in which the dead would
be buried. Either through a strange coincidence, or through this [164]
bird being in some way attracted by serious illness, the monotonous
cry of the *kalae* in unusual numbers added to the dreariness of the [165]
nights in November, 1918, when the whole of Nukualofa was filled
with the sick and dying, struck down by the wave of pneumonic
influenza.

825 The *kanahe* (mullet), the sacred creature of the clan called Fainga'a,
613 *matabules* of the Tui Tonga. These *matabules* are descended from the
hero Tui Motuliki, who was the son of the Fijian woman Sinailele
644 (this name is perhaps connected with Hina, the widely recognised
779 Polynesian goddess), and the bones of the dead Maui Atalanga and
Maui Kijikiji. Tui Motuliki was even mightier than the great Maui,
and whilst yet a child performed the most amazing prodigies of
773 strength and valour. The mullet was from infancy sacred (*tabu*) to
him, and an old tale relates that he prohibited its use as food by any
825 man. When he came from Fiji to Tonga he brought his *tabu* with
784 him, and the Tui Tonga is said to have extended the prohibition on
262 eating it to all the men of Tonga. There seems to be no remembered
custom to support this tradition so far as full-grown mullet is concerned,
though there is corroboration of the statement that the young
mullet (called *te'efo*) was *tabu* to the men.

825 The *veka* (rail) was the god of Maumuu, a chief on the island of
Eua. It was also the god of Motuku-vee-valu (Eight-legged-heron),
776 a chief in the west of Tongatabu, and the father of Muni, of whom
exploits are related very similar to those of Maui. It is said that
773 Motuku-vee-valu and his descendants were chiefs in the west of
Tongatabu before the present Haa-Ngata lords. This, if true, is a
825 very interesting statement. The rail figures prominently in the story
[773] of Muni, guiding the hero, who had been cast into the sea at birth
and was completely unknown to his father, to the old gentleman as he
was hiding from his foe Bunga (coral), the chief of Eastern Tongatabu.
[794] Those who belonged to the rail cult used to take the bird about
with them. This practice is indicated in the story of the birth of the
[773] beautiful Vae.

The *lulu* (owl) is mentioned as sacred to a family group in
[644] Haapai who belonged to the Falefa, already noticed as *matabules* of the
Tui Tonga. Possibly it was sacred to all the Falefa. In passing it
[551] may be remarked that Falefa seems to mean "wide-spread," "widely
ramified," like the water flowing on all sides from the pandanus (*fa*) in
a heavy rain.

825 The best remembered feature of the owl's supernatural functions is
its habit of revealing the pregnancy of women. If the owl hooted near
843 a house in the afternoon it was known that there was a pregnant
woman in that household. The meddlesome bird never blurted out its
news unless for some reason the lady were keeping her interesting
condition a secret, or were as yet unaware of it herself.

825 The hooting of an owl near a house late at night was a sign that
[787] some disaster would befall the unlucky home.

Toke-i-Moana, that Eel-in-the-Open-Sea, was the god of Uiha in
[643] Haapai, whose chief is Malubo. On his mother's side King George
Tubou I. was connected with this family. Two of the king's sons are

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buried in the rather imposing terraced native vaults in Uiha. There 764
was some question as to whether the king himself should not be buried
there, as doubtless he would have been if old native custom had been 766
observed, but one of the outward symbols of recent Europeanisation is [177]
a royal burial ground in Nukualofa, in which cement takes the place of [349]
the great coral slabs cut from the reef with which the tomb of an
ancient chief was built up. Before his conversion to Christianity 776
Tubou I. worshipped Toke-i-Moana, whose sacred animal is, as the
name implies, the sea-eel. A temple was built for him in Uiha. The [643]
sick were taken to Toke-i-Moana and sometimes cured, and sometimes [825]
not, after the customary tribute of finger had been collected from an [778]
unfortunate relative. There is the usual *tabu* against eating the flesh [755]
of the god or approaching a place where it is being prepared as food.

Jinilau is the son of a woman who used, in going out to fish on the [782]
reef, always to turn her back to the rising sun, and at length [784]
conceived by that luminary, the fruit of this extraordinary marriage [262]
being Jinilau, who is spoken of as the god of beauty. Exceptionally [826]
handsome persons were called Jinilau, their attractive appearance
being regarded as the gift of the god.

Jinilau married Hina, but before the marriage took place the 773
poverty of the god and his mother made the procuring of appropriate
adornment to grace the occasion a matter of no small difficulty The 821
mother, however, solved the question by telling Jinilau to go to his father the Sun and secure his assistance, adding that he must go to him very early in the morning. Jinilau slept too long, and the sun was already above the horizon before the dilatory groom reached him and preferred his request. After a few grumbling remarks about his son's coming to him when he was right up where all the world could be witnesses of their conversation the old gentleman drew a cloud across between them and the eyes of prying mortals, and they had a cosy secluded chat, with no doubt results satisfactory to Jinilau. Hence arise the light clouds which frequently fleck the horizon at sunrise.

There is also an old myth in which Jinilau figures as lord of Akana 773
in Samoa (Folk-Lore," Vol. I., page 94). The Mangaian and Maori 771
Tinirau is lord of fishes, and this Samoan Jinilau has also special
connection with the fish, the Tongan story agreeing with the Maori
in representing him as lending a whale to Kae, which Kae treacherously killed, and was afterwards slain himself to expiate the crime.
In the Tongan story there are two whales, called Tonga and Tunuunga, 773
relatives of Jinilau, which are lent to Kae to take him to his home in Tonga. By the treachery of Kae, Tunuunga is killed but Tonga, sadly scarred, returns to Jinilau, and relates the fate of his companion. The attendants of Jinilau thereupon go to Tonga and bear Kae back to Samoa whilst he is asleep, and there he is slain. Tunuunga had

778 been eaten, but all the scraps obtainable were put into a bowl, and the
defunct whale thus restored to life. One tusk, which had been
presented to the Tui Tonga, was not recovered, but Jinilau comforted
him with the observation that nobody would notice its absence unless
he opened his mouth very wide.

776 Toki-langa-fonua, a great god of Eua, wont to appear in a shark,
called the Tui-Fai-Ana, i.e., King of the Fai Cave. Myth relates
825 that Toki-langa-fonua swam to Samoa, and that Tui-fai-ana guarded
778 him throughout the journey. This shark was not an ordinary fish,
but quite a species to himself. His stump tail was a distinguishing
823 feature, as was the variability of his colour. His home was the cave
called Fai-ana on the coast of Eua. He was reputed to be girded
825 about with a shoal of the fish called in Tongan *hofoli*. Approach to
[784] the god's cavern was impossible to anyone wearing a sweet-smelling
[826] leaf girdle, or having the head whitened with lime, and the prohibition
[577] seems to have extended to persons in whom were physical or moral
defects. (A boat can never be successful in shark-fishing unless
[226] sincere harmony exists between the members of the crew). No noise
must be made near his home. Anyone at all unfitted for proximity to
823 the god who attempted to approach the cave fell from the narrow rock
825 path along which he must go, but apparently escaped any penalty
784 more serious than a wetting, for falling into the sea he had no
difficulty in swimming back a little way, and there scrambling ashore.
It is said too that a great wave used to arise at the mouth of the cave
and prevent the approach of the wrongly-disposed person. I have not
yet met anyone who claims to have seen this remarkable shark,
though I have talked with a young man who says that he has seen in
the cave the shoal of *hofoli* said to be the leaf-girdle of Tui-fai-ana.

776 Toki-langa-fonua (Land-building Axe) is said to have come down
from heaven as king of Eua. He begot by his sister Hina twin
daughters, Tobukulu and Nafanua, who in their turn bore to their
father Hemoana and Tafakula. These incests were unwittingly
committed, the parties to them being ignorant of each other's
identity.

825 The people of Eua are said to be immune from attack by the
species of shark called *anga*. As a matter of fact the *anga* has more
[262] reason to fear Tongans than they to fear him. It is rarely that one
hears of a Tongan being injured by a shark, but the shark furnishes
226 many a meal for the Tongan. The native of these islands displays
remarkable intrepidity and skill in the water. In the shark-fishing,
the shark is enticed alongside the boat by singing and calling out and
rattling with coconut shells strung on a stick, and a running noose is
then slipped over his head. If matters are not going smoothly a
member of the crew does not hesitate to jump overboard and attend to
the noose at close quarters.

Sharks' teeth were a regular part of the furnishing of temples dedicated to shark deities. 237 778

Tobukulu and Nafanua, the twin sisters mentioned above, daughters of Toki-langa-fonua and Hina, and the mothers of Hemoana and Tafakula. They were turned into two rocks to which prayers were made for good seasons and big hauls of fish. 776 [823] [782]

Hemoana, literally Sea-Wanderer, has already been noticed in the brief notes of the creation myth as one of the original gods. Another account regards him as the son of Tobukulu, born whilst his mother, with her twin sister, was swimming home to Eua after the incest with their father. Toki-langa-fonua had abandoned Eua in horror at the discovery of the close relationship that subsisted between himself and Hina, but the desire of the twins to see their father had added fresh blots to the family history. 779

Hemoana was abandoned in the sea by his mother as soon as he was born. He was wont to appear in the sea-snake (*tuku-hali*). [825]

Tafakula, literally Red-Edge, a female divinity, born soon after Hemoana as their mothers were swimming from Samoa to Eua. Tafakula's mother, Nafanua, refused to abandon her in the sea, although strongly urged by Tobukulu to do so, and took the child home with her to Eua. In process of time Hemoana came to Eua to visit his relatives there, and he and Tafakula added another to the family's record of unwitting incest, but the unholy succession was stopped by Tafakula's battering the fruit of this union to death with a stone. Offerings were brought to Tafakula, and intercession made, to ensure fruitful seasons, and protection against hurricane and drought. [776] [782]

The suggestion is made by an intelligent Tongan that the name may refer to the red horizon at dawn and sunset. She is the goddess of the light. The island of Eua is high and stands towards the sun-rising from Tongatabu. It would be the first to catch the ruddy glow of the sun as he rose, and would also reflect his last beams as he disappeared below the horizon. Red things are particularly associated with Tafakula, the red varieties of several objects being spoken of as hers. In Eua there is a mound about which are growing two sorts of coconuts, whose Tongan names mean the red nut and the white nut, which is still called the demesne of Tafakula. This mound is probably the site of a house sacred to her. 776 [821] 133 776 [822] [824] [778]

Hina, a goddess widely known throughout Polynesia. Although the body of lore concerning her is not uniform there are numerous and close parallels between the accounts of the various Polynesian peoples. She occurs in several distinct connections in Tongan tradition, each of them presenting points of similarity with accounts from other parts of Polynesia. It will be well to summarise these. 776 171

776 She is generally regarded as the Moon-goddess, and this view was
[821] spontaneously put forward by a Tongan in conversation with me.

Tregear, in his Maori Comparative Dictionary, speaks of her as
[171] being connected in the Maori accounts with the Ocean-lord, Tinirau, in
a very mythical manner. The Tongan myth of her marriage with Jinilau has been mentioned above.

776 The tradition of Hina as the sister-wife of the Shark god,
Toki-langa-fonua, has already been noticed. This is not her only
825 association with the shark. A Tongan native has told me that in
773 shark-fishing the sharks are often addressed as Hina. In Eueika (Little Eua), an island not far from Eua, Hina is said to be the daughter of the first Tui Tufu, the chief of Eueika. She was very lovely, but one day, whilst sporting in the surf she disappeared, and nothing could be discovered of her fate, till at length she inspired in her father a dream, telling him that through the ill-will of a Samoan god she had been swallowed by a shark, into which the malevolent deity had entered to compass her destruction. Her father thereupon told his people that they need never more fear the shark, as nobody of
[481] Eueika would ever more be endangered by one. It is said that as a
matter of fact there is no known instance of an Eueika man or woman having been injured by a shark, although both sexes freely and fearlessly swim long distances in the open sea.

In Vavau Hina is the daughter of Maunga-koloa and Tama-tangkia, and sister of Ngatai (Sea, or Seawards) and Fanua (Land). She had a pet shark, which she kept in a pool ashore, till one day, during an exceptionally high tide, which overflowed the pool, it made good its escape to the open ocean. Hina was inconsolable at the loss of her favourite, and started off to seek it, with her parent, rowing three in
776 the canoe. When the shark was at length discovered out at sea Hina,
in order to remain near her pet, jumped into the water and became a
773 reef. Her parents commenced to return to shore, but, unwilling to
823 leave their daughter, they too leapt into the sea, and became two
[821] rocks. The three-oared canoe flew up into the sky, and became part
of the constellation of Orion. Hina's two brothers, Ngatai and Fanua, later set off to seek their father and mother and sister, and became two other rocks or reefs.

776 Sinailele, the Fijian mother of Tui Motuliki, is probably another appearance of Hina.

The Shark is also the god of the clan of the Tui Tofua, i.e., King,
[825] or Chief, of Tofua, a high volcanic island in Haapai, historically
[175] interesting as being the island on which Bligh landed after the
mutiny of the "Bounty," and from which commenced his wonderful
[361] open-boat voyage. Tofua is not now inhabited, but people lived there
within the memory of living men.

There is a tradition that an early Tui Tofua was about to kill his 773
son in a fit of jealous anger, but the youth obtained his father's
permission to sail away with some of his people. When they got well 825
out to sea he told the crew to jump one by one into the water. As each
man leapt into the sea he became a shark, of the more harmless variety
called *anga*. The young chief himself was last, and he was turned into
one of the great man-eating sharks called *tenifa*. A Samoan on board.
not relishing the metamorphosis, refused to participate, and returned
and told the tale on shore. Since then the shark has been sacred (*tabu*) [784]
to the Tofua people, and must not be eaten by them, on account of the [262]
relationship subsisting between them. There is still extant a song
referring to this exploit. [533]

I have received a brief note regarding the gods of Nina Fo'ou, one 133
of the most distant islands of the Tongan Group, lying midway
between Vavau and Samoa. This is a hilly, volcanic island, with a
lake in an old crater in the middle. It has been the scene of volcanic
outbreak within very recent years.

The note states that the gods of Nina Fo'ou were three in number, 776
namely Pig's Liver, the Octopus, and a large lump of Coral (*Bunga*).
Neither the pig's liver nor the octopus could be eaten by their 262
worshippers. Throughout Tonga the liver is a very special portion of [784]
the pig, and when on important occasions cooked food is presented to
a chief the liver of a pig is taken and ceremoniously placed before him. [565]
Bunga (Coral) is the name of the chief of eastern Tongatabu from 773
whom Motuku-vae-valu, the father of Muni, was hiding when his son
discovered him. Bunga was overcome by that hero in a wrestling
match. This Bunga was the possessor of two enormous *kava* plants,
and of a white flying-fox from whose movements he read auguries.

When Nina Fo'ou became Christian the people threw their coral 798
god into the lake.

There are several gods mentioned by Mariner of which I have not 114
been able to get any independent account. Mariner was best
acquainted with Vavau, whereas the foregoing notes deal mainly with 776
Tongatabu. As a whole, however, the Tongan people fit into a frame- [101]
work which may be constructed in Tongatabu. The chieftainships of
the two northern groups have well understood relations with Tonga- 565
tabu, all deriving ultimately from the Tui Tonga. It is not clear what 634
was the first home of the Polynesians in the group, or what they found 643
on arrival. Tradition points to their having come from Samoa, a 174
conclusion which is supported by the general evidence of geographical
distribution, and to their first settlements having been in the southern
part, though the farthest from Samoa, in Eua and Ata. It is not
impossible, that these southern settlers may have been pre-Polynesian,
and that the acclimatisation of Polynesian myths amongst them was

quarter in the thickest part. On only two occasions 136
have we seen it swimming at sea. When
first observed, it was carrying the head quite erect,
about four inches above the surface; but, instantly
it saw our boat, it drew its head under water, and
disappeared. The natives seem to have a great
reverence for, or else a great aversion to, the
creature, notwithstanding its prettiness. But this [778]
may arise, in part, from its having been held sacred, [825]
and being even worshipped in former days.

It would be hard to determine what were the 136
indigenous animals of the Tonga Islands. We have 231
heard an intelligent native playfully say, that, in
olden times, the only representatives of the animal
and feathered tribes, were the *kuma*, or field-mouse,
and the *jikota*, a species of kingfisher.
Captain Cook found hogs, and dogs, and probably,
cats, upon the islands; but it is just possible that
these were first left by the Dutch navigator Tasman,
nearly a century before. Of his visit, the
people have no traditionary knowledge whatsoever.
Whether the Tonguese obtained animals from him 231
or not, there is no doubt that the breed of hogs now
extant is much superior to that which the people
possessed in bygone days. Considerable attention
is paid to rearing them. Many, it is true, are
allowed to run wild in the bush; but a very large
number are reared in pig-styes, or are regularly
tended and fed by their owners.

The number of pigs consumed at the great 261
native feasts, of various kinds, is something enormous. 262
Hundreds, and even thousands, have been 574
known to be slaughtered and cooked entire, on 231
these occasions, with a wasteful extravagance,
against which the Missionaries have hitherto lifted

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of the feathered tribes of these islands. The sea-birds comprehend several varieties of gulls, bitterns, and herons. Of these the most peculiar is the tropic bird, called by the natives, *taviki*, (the *Phaeton ætherius*). It is greatly admired and valued by the people, on account of its two beautiful blood-red tail feathers. The bird is about the size of a partridge. Its wings are very long, and its flight is both swift and graceful. It may often be seen soaring high in the air, and speeding along without even a flutter, apparently, of its wings. Undoubtedly, this bird belongs more properly to the family of gulls, than to that of the pelicans, among which it has been classified by some ornithologists. [825]

Among the land-birds there are the native *kaka*, a green parrot found only in Eua; several *kulukulus*, or parroquets; owls, wild pigeons, turtle-doves; the *jikota*, or kingfisher; (a variety of the *Dacelo gigantea*,) a wild duck, found in the lakes and lagoons, and large flocks of snipes and sandpipers, which resort at certain seasons to the shores of the low islands.

We have omitted to mention among the mammals, the native *bekas*, or vampyre bats. These animals are somewhat numerous; and they have their habitat among the *toa* trees usually planted in the vicinity of burial-grounds. There they congregate, and breed, like the rooks of this country.

A large *batery* of this description was located near our Mission residence in Hihifo, Tongatabu, where we had ample opportunity for observing their habits. During the day-time, these creatures remained tolerably quiet, either in their nests, or suspended by their claws from the branches, with

136 the exception of an occasional squeaking cry from the whole fraternity, when any troublesome bat fluttered about in search of a new roosting-place. As night approached, all became uproar and commotion. There seemed invariably to be a great deal of debating and manœuvring, before they could finally start on their nocturnal expeditions in search of food. Their return to the grove of *toas* always indicated the near approach of daylight, accompanied as it was by their loud chattering, and the evident contention for convenient roosting-places.
136 On certain occasions, in former times, these animals
825 were *tabu*, or considered sacred by the people.
784 During those seasons, the penalty of death itself
might be inflicted upon any one who should disturb
(778) or destroy them. In this way, one of the Missionaries,
136 the Rev. Stephen Rabone, well nigh fell a
825 sacrifice to the rage of a heathen chief in Hihifo.
784 At the time, one of the chiefs was lying dangerously
797 ill, and the bats were then *tabu*. Not knowing
the law or custom, Mr. Rabone shot one, as it happened to fly over his garden. Shortly afterwards, an enraged relative of the sick man rushed into the Mission House, club in hand, and would certainly have done Mr. Rabone serious personal injury, but for the prompt interference of a Christian Chief of higher rank than himself.

136 Here, as in all tropical countries, insect life swarms, and luxuriates, as much as the vegetation. Many of the insect tribes are doubtless useful to man in their own places; but when they take possession of human habitations, and there multiply profusely, they then become a real plague. Ants, black, white, and red, swarm everywhere, and so do lizards, and beetles of all kinds. Some of these

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

grounds. While standing at the mouth of the cave, 000
I picked up a beautiful harp-shell, which species, 797
I was told, was formerly worshipped by the people of [825]
Makave, a village only a few miles from this place.

Sunday, 27th.—Departed in the boat, about an hour before daylight, on a tour to all the out-islands of this group, to preach, and meet the church members, this being the time of quarterly visitation. We passed through the beautiful boat passage at Bagaimotu just as the sun rose. The scenery appeared most enchanting in the calmness
and light of the morning. We reached Oloua [202]
about 7 A.M., and immediately after landing beat [534]
the *lali*, or wooden drum, for Divine service. I afterwards spoke individually to each of the members. About mid-day we sailed to Ofu. Having preached, I met all the male members. Held a public prayer-meeting in the evening by lamp light.

Monday, 28th.—Neither my boatmen nor myself obtained much sleep, although greatly needed after yesterday's work. Beat the *lali* at sun-rise to assemble the female members of society, and spoke to them individually as their state seemed to require. I must here observe that, although in all the classes I observed a great sameness of experience and expression, there can be no mistake as to the real conversion of numbers of the people. Still, many have the form without the power, and we certainly want more heart-work among our native converts. At the conclusion of the classes, we held a short public prayer-meeting. Before leaving for the next place, this affectionate people brought us tangible expressions of their love, in the shape of baked pigs, yams, oil, and sugar-cane, for the use of myself and boatmen. A portion of

23: Collocott M-4,5 (no date) 1925 OU9 Tonga OU9

802 counter calls aloud: "One, two, three," and so on up to ten, when a second man rises, holding a staff, and calls: "One." Then the counter goes on with the second ten, "One, two, three," and so on till the second ten is completed, when the man with the staff calls: "Two." So it goes on, the first man counting the individuals in groups of ten, the second man keeping the tally of tens, till one hundred, ten tens, is reached, when the second man calls "One hundred," and a third man jumps up and calls "One." The second hundred is counted in the same way as the first by the same two men, and when it is completed the third man, who has been silent meanwhile, calls "Two." If the number be so great that the tenth hundred is completed, the third man, he who keeps the tally of hundreds, calls "One thousand," and a fourth man joins in, and says "One," and it will be his task to keep the tally of the thousands.

PROVERBIAL EXPRESSIONS.

128 Since the publication of *Proverbial Sayings of the Tongans* (Bishop Museum Press, Honolulu, 1922) several other sayings have been collected, and are now added as supplementary to the previous collection.

539 195 539 1. *E taha ha lau, tagi ki he ba'a, tagi ki he fanua.* What a lot of talk, cry to be barren, cry to have children. Used of one whose complaints and requests are incompatible, who is never satisfied, but always wants something different. The saying is attributed to Maui Kisikisi, who, when his mother complained of his idleness, set to work digging so vigorously that he shook the whole island of Eua, whereupon his mother complained of the dangerous disturbance he was creating. Maui expressed his exasperation in this saying, and flung his digging-stick far from him. Where the digging-stick struck the earth it scooped out into a huge hole, and out through the cliff-face into the sea, making an archway through the solid rock, all of which the unbeliever may see for himself on the weather coast of Eua.

539 195 [821] [753] 2. *'Oku 'ikai ke tuhu'i 'e ha taha 'ae umata.* One does not point at the rainbow. To point at the rainbow causes a swelling of the limb wherewith the pointing is done. Even to-day children are taught by their parents not to point at the rainbow.

3. *'Oku lava 'ae Tu'i Toga.* The Tu'i Tonga is garbed ceremonially *(lava)*. This seems to indicate what is of so great importance that even the Tu'i Tonga takes note of it.

[825] 4. *Be kuo lulu mai mai be kuo kalae mai?* Does he come an owl or a rail? The meaning is: "Does he come full-handed or empty-handed?" it being held that when the owl comes he usually brings something with him, whereas the rail does not.

5. *Fakalogo ki kafa.* Obeying, judging by, cord. The idea is that of a vessel dropped down a deep well, attached to a cord. The drawer of water cannot see when the vessel is full, but judges by the feel of the cord when it has reached the water, and when it is full. Figuratively the expression indicates sounding, feeling about, for information of that which is uncertain, out of sight.

6. *Futa kaunahu.* Pride (through the) mat-edge. This is an expression from the game of *lafo*. The *kaunahu* is the raised edge, or

Tu'i Kanokupolu ceremony the counter touches each basket, 276
using alternately the right and left hand. 574

Great as was the Tu'i Tonga, the Tama-ha, Sacred 643
Child, the child, especially the daughter, of his sister or of his father's sister, the Tu'i Tonga Fefine, was, by the ordinary rules of social precedence, his superior. This superiority was acknowledge by presentations of food, and presumably of *kava*. The basket of food taken by the Tu'i Tonga to the Tamaha was slung on a pole between two bearers, and by a fiction represented as borne on the king's own shoulder. A piece of native cloth was tied to the basket, and the Tu'i Tonga walked along, holding the end of this cloth. This was called the *ha'amo*, bearing on a pole, of the Tu'i Tonga.

VISITS TO SHRINES.

The presentation and drinking of *kava* was an essential 276
part of the visit and supplication to gods. The priest seems 782
to have been the chief at such a ceremony; as the Tongan 793
expression has it, the *kava* was his, or to him.

In visiting a shrine it would appear that even great 276
chiefs did not disdain to serve the *kava*, and act as cup- 778
bearers to the gods. An excellently-informed and elderly 782
chief told me that Taufaahau, King George Tupou I., was 793
serving the *kava* during a memorable visit to a shrine in 643
Ha'apai, to which was attached a priestess. It was in the early days of Christianity, and Taufaahau avowed his nascent disbelief in the old gods by smiting the priestess in the throat, with the butt end of a coconut leaf, as she was drinking her cup of *kava*.

The late chief Tamale, an elderly man when I knew 276
him, said that when *kava* was taken to the great god of 782
eastern Tongatabu, Pulotu Katoa, who was especially asso- 793
ciated with Nuku, the *kava* was presented, or the ceremony 776
directed, to the god's priest Vakahi. Those who acted as
matapule at such a ceremony were Ma'elo, a younger brother
of Nuku, and Tamale, the son of Nuku's daughter. The [825]
representative of this god, or that through which the god
came into rapport with the physical world, was a dog, and
a dog lay beside the priest during the ceremony.

The offerings to a god would include food, cloth, mats, etc., and doubtless served to enrich the priests.

ANIMATE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE GODS.

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From the earliest times, man has observed the movements of animals and birds and drawn deductions from them. Sometimes the deductions were quite rational and assisted materially in the prosecution of the food-quest. The Polynesian fisherman observed the actions of flocks of sea-birds and deduced from them that they were following shoals of young fish. He joined in the chase, knowing from experience that shoals of bonito would also be following beneath in the water and would take his pearl-shell lure in mistake for fish. The voyager noted the flight of sea-birds in a certain direction in the evening and deduced that land lay in that direction, for experience had taught him that even sea-birds prefer to rest on land at night. Other interpretations of movements do not appear so rational, such as those with a supernatural association. Animals and birds were somehow credited with being influenced by supernatural causes more readily than man.

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Movements of living things were thus interpreted to indicate whether or not the individual person or group would be successful in the particular quest which occupied attention at the time. The attitude toward such phenomena as the movements of living things was a general vague idea of luck, good or bad. In Polynesian society, the attitude was more definitely connected with the spiritual concept that the immaterial gods influenced the movements of living bodies to convey messages to their followers. Usually movements in the same direction were favourable while movements in the opposite direction were unfavourable. Movement or appearance on a particular side was favourable while on the opposite side the effect would also be opposite.

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A further step was taken when families and groups selected certain living things to represent their specific god. The living object thus became the animate representative of their immaterial god and the god's communications were evidenced by the appearance, movements, or sounds, that the living representative made.

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Another step in elaboration took place when on occasions the god was regarded as being actually present in the living representative, much in the same way that the god took possession of the inspirational priest. Bird-representatives usually acted as messengers without the god being in temporary residence. The living

Presumably if men passed from one side to the other of the net the 784
fish would do the same. The various sweet-smelling flowers which 226 825
are used to adorn and scent the leaf-girdles which are always worn
on festival occasions by both men and women, but particularly by the 292 824
women, are protected by a tabu belonging to the range of sympathetic 784
magic. Flowers that have been used in the leaf-girdle must not be burnt before they are quite dead and dried up. Should this tabu be violated the tree from which the burnt blossoms were taken will thereafter be useless for supplying flowers for the girdles, and any blooms plucked from it will quickly fade. It is only the individual tree which is affected, and flowers from other trees of the same species will retain their scent and freshness as before.

Fishing, an important industry of the inhabitants of these tiny 226
islets, and one moreover subject to alternations of success and failure, 784
of calm tranquillity and boisterous hazard, from causes which it is frequently difficult either to foresee or to explain, retains in large measure its old safeguard of tabus. If a man be out fishing and someone inquire of his wife where he is she must not tell. Better to sacrifice the truth than her husband's luck. This tabu, however, is now falling into disregard. The best known tabus are those concerning
the bonito and the shark. The bonito whose origin, or at 226
the least first arrival in Tongan waters, has a supernatural connection 784
with the Tui Haangana, the chief of the island of Haano in Haapai 825 [622]
will not suffer himself to be caught off that island if the chief ventures
outside his house whilst bonito are in the vicinity. A similar [622]
tabu keeps one of the chiefs of the eastern end of Tongatabu within doors when the bonito appears. There is also a proper order for the disposal of the first-fruits of the bonito fishing in Tongatabu before the fish is available for the people at large.

Of no fishing is the ritual more exact and more flourishing today than that attending the pursuit of the shark. The most perfect harmony, even of thought and sentiment, must prevail amongst the
fishermen and amongst their friends and relatives ashore. Discord [828]
or the hidden rancor of the heart is fatal to success. A young woman relates that in her childhood, as a party of shark-fishers were setting out, she cried to be taken with her father who was a member of the

30: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1962 OU9 Tonga OU9

expedition. Every means was tried to pacify the child, but in vain. 226
The situation was extremely awkward. On the one hand was the 784
difficulty of taking the girl, and on the other the futility of hoping to 825
take a shark if she were left weeping ashore. Finally, as the child refused to be comforted, she was perforce taken on board. The [113]
shark-fishing has been described in his book *Chez les Méridionaux du Pacifique,* by His Lordship Bishop Blanc of the Catholic Mission in Tonga, or P. Soane Malia as His Lordship was called at the time of publication.[1] Before the expedition sets out a house ashore is shut up and becomes tabu. "This house had just been carefully shut, shortly before the departure of the fishermen. It was that of the head man. Its being closed and the departure of its owner gave it a mysterious character; it became 'house of the fishing,' that is to say a place to which approach was forbidden to everybody until the return from the fishing." The shark is taken by a running noose on the end of a line, and is enticed alongside the boat by sounding with the coconut-shell rattle formed by threading coconut-shells on a stick, and by the fishermen calling out. The crew not only call to the shark to come, but add many blandishments, with flattery of its beauty and wily promises of high festival ashore. The subsidiary inducement of a piece of roast pork displayed outboard is not wholly discountenanced.

When the shark has once come alongside his fate is usually sealed. The noose is slipped dexterously over his head, and if necessary a man will even jump into the sea to make a better adjustment of the cord. Non-success in this sport is attributed to broken tabus. On the occasion which Bishop Blanc describes nine sharks were taken, and it may be best to quote a little of the conversation which he had with the head of the expedition after its return:

"And you have done this (i.e., called and taken a shark) nine times?"

"Yes."

"And the shark always comes? It always obeys?"

"When it does not come that is a bad sign. There is something in fact which prevents the shark from coming."

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[1] It was published by Librairie Catholique Emmanuel Vitte, Lyons and Paris, 1910.

"And what then?" 226

"When it does not come there is nothing to do but return to shore, 784
because that is the proof that someone has violated the tabu of the 825
closed house, or perhaps that one of us has some grudge or anger in [828]
his heart. So we must go and correct what is amiss, and then the fishing may recommence."[1]

The shark indeed is a great searcher of the heart, and the man [776]
who attempts to approach the cavern where resides the great shark- [828]
god of the island of Eua will find himself unable to reach the spot should his heart be not as it should be. Although particularly notable in the case of the shark the same type of idea is found in fishing generally. Persistent ill-luck gets a boat a bad reputation which reflects [828]
more on the ethical qualities of crew and owners, and of the boat herself, than on their skill as fishermen. "The fishing is accursed; let us go ashore."

Gardens were protected by tabus. Frequently a coconut-leaf rep- 784
resentation of the shark was put up on the trunk of a tree, which was 825
as effective as turning the shark-god Taufa loose in the garden. It is [241]
stated that Taufaahau, better known to Europeans as King George I— [643]
under whom, after many years of strife, Tonga became a homo- [797]
geneous kingdom with Christianity universally and firmly established [776]
throughout the group—experimented with some of these tabu signs to assure himself of the impotency of the old gods, and also made the more daring test of swimming out to the opening in the reef of the island of Lifuka in Haapai and shouting defiance to the sharks.

SIN

A general idea of the sort of conduct that was ethically right is 673
obtained by attention to the words which indicate wrong-doing. This [682]
is too lengthy an inquiry to be entered on in any detail in this place, [684]
but to inquiries as to what conduct would be formerly included under the word *hia,* which is commonly translated "sin" but is today too much mixed up with the modern machinery of law-courts to afford a clear idea of its ancient significance, it was answered murder and connection with the wife of a man of superior rank to the offender.

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[1] Op. cit., pages 59 and 60.

It probably occurs in the word for breath (*manava*), which again is 778
used of the womb, though apparently without strict anatomical pre- [826]
cision. This same word is found in compounds meaning fear [827]
(*manava-jii* "little manava or breath," *manava-he* "wandering
manava"), and courage (*manava-lahi* "great manava"). Taking
this class of words together the primary significance of mana seems
to be living power or force, and the word for breath and womb per-
haps means the place or seat of this power or force.

OMENS

The occult forces of the universe frequently manifest themselves 787
as warnings to mankind, and hence arises one of the commonest uses [778]
of the word mana, namely an omen. Many of these omens are still
known and more or less believed in. A considerable number are 787
concerned with impending calamity to a chief. Usually of course 565
the portent would occur in a locality or in an object which had some
relation to the threatened lord. In the island of Uiha in Haapai is [823]
a spring which turned red as a warning of the approaching death of
the chiefs connected with that place. A rock in the western district [823]
of Tongatabu indicated in some way a similar catastrophe. The [824]
breaking off, in calm weather, of branches of the banyan tree is an
omen of the death of a great chief. The large tree in eastern Tonga- [824]
tabu under which Captain Cook addressed the natives fell down a [643]
few years ago, and this proved to be an omen of the death of the
late King George II, though His Majesty survived the tree by about
two years. The roaring of the sea on the wide flats skirting a good [823]
length of the shore of western Tongatabu is also the sign of the death
of a chief. At the time of the death of King George I there was an [821]
unusually protracted spell of rainy weather. This too was mana, [643]
though apparently not so much an omen of the king's approaching
end as a sympathetic disturbance of the supernatural powers accom-
panying the passing of this truly great man. Some still affirm that [825]
this king's death was presaged by the approach of a great shoal of
fish to the coast of Tongatabu. At Kolovai, in western Tongatabu, 787
the village of the high chief Ata, are several casuarina trees where 565
the flying-foxes are protected by a tabu. These trees with their clus- 825

ters of animal fruitage have often been photographed, and are widely 787
known. Tradition speaks of a white flying-fox whose appearance is 565
the sign of the approaching death of Ata. The other flying-foxes 825
give this uncanny visitor wide elbow room. The tradition of the
occasional appearance of a white flying-fox is correct, as the present
Ata has seen no less than three—the last no longer ago than last year.
This last one, maimed by a broken wing, fell into the possession of
Ata himself, who was tending it, purposing on its recovery to present
it to the queen, but unfortunately dogs or pigs snipped its vital cord.
Ata, who is a very robust and athletic man in young middle life, has
manifested no alarming symptoms as a result of being honored by a
visit from the ominous creature. A white flying-fox figures in an
old story as being used for divination by Bunga, chief of Boha in
eastern Tongatabu.

Mr. W. H. Murley of Haapai and Mr. Gifford of the University 565
of California have severally come across instances of fog being re- 787
garded as ominous of the death of a chief. Difference of opinion 821
evidently prevails as to the rationale of this portent. Mr. Murley,
who is exceptionally well versed in Tongan custom and tradition,
speaks of a mist on the sea as ominous, whilst very good native
opinion has assured me that the mist only presages evil when it is
over the land. Several birds are also ominous. Should a traveler 787
find a kingfisher persistently flying about him, that is a warning to 825
relinquish his journey and return home. The hooting of an owl in
the evening near a dwelling is the publication of the pregnancy of a
woman in the house. The crowing of a cock in the afternoon (per-
haps early evening) is a harbinger of evil unless he be answered by
another cock. The crying of the rail at night is an omen of death, [763]
and the direction of his flight indicates the place in which the doomed
person shall be buried. Mr. Murley notes that as he was sitting with
a native a kingfisher entered the room, and his native friend became
very uneasy at this circumstance as a portent of evil. Not only the
kingfisher is thus ominous. Mr. Murley's friend informed him "that
evil spirits come in with the rubbish, and lizards and rats as well as
kingfishers." A similar instance came under my own observation.
A *fuleheu* (*Ptilotis curunculata*) came into my room, and a native

girl who saw it told me it was a sign of bad luck, without however 787
appearing to attach much importance to the matter. It is not clear 825
whether her unconcern was due to her enlightenment, or to indifference to my fate, or to the hope that being a foreigner I should be able to pull through all right.

MANA OF MEN AND INSTRUMENTS

These manifestations in the seen world of purposes of the unseen 778
world are mana. These are merely a few examples picked up here and there, and doubtless the list could be much extended. But supernatural power may also reside in a tool or weapon and become a mighty instrument in the hand of man. The club or spear of a great 411
warrior, for example, is the abode of mana. The club of the chief 778
Vahai was so charged with mana that it could not keep still, but was continually agitated by convulsive movements. Vahai kept this formidable weapon wrapped in a mat in his house and on one occasion sent a man to bring it to him. The messenger could see no club, only a bundle of mat agitated by an apparently living body, and returning to the chief told him that the only thing in the house was a child wrapped up in matting. The supposed child was of course none other than the club with its high power mana, and the man was again sent to fetch it.

Mana could be communicated from one person to another. If a weapon in which resided this supernatural force were borrowed the owner laid it across the open palm of the borrower, and then, getting a piece of the stem of the banana tree, rubbed and squeezed it in his own hands, thus expressing the juice. Then he rubbed the banana stem over the weapon and the open hand of the borrower. Vahai, the owner of the club just mentioned, conveyed to another chief, Takai, his own martial courage and prowess by performing a like operation upon his body. In these examples the warrior himself 411
would seem to be primarily the source of the mana, thence conveyed 778
to the weapons which he victoriously wielded; but from other state- 776
ments it appears that the weapon itself might receive an inspiration of mana direct from the gods. In the account of the voyage of the missionary ship *Duff* weapons are spoken of as placed in temples to

on the progress of the contest with the promptness and certainty of a 787
wireless installation and had the melancholy duty of informing them 791
of the defeat of their own champion. His best remembered exploit was that of telling a chief the time at which a pet bird, which had flown away and was many days overdue, would return. Not content with the bald statement as to the day and time at which the chief would again see his bird he gave a detailed itinerary of the homeward flight.

A rather peculiar idea belonging to the same range of conceptions 787
is seen in the power asserted to have been possessed by the chief Loau 791
of Haamea in Tongatabu of knowing everything that was going on 565
everywhere. Loau occupies a unique place in Tongan history, for though he is undoubtedly a historical personage and is asserted to have left a deep and enduring mark on Tongan polity, no place is assigned him in any of the known chiefly families. He came none knows whence and departed none knows whither. His name is connected with the small district called Haamea near Nukualofa, but the spot within Haamea on which he lived is named Maananga, and it is said that quietly at home at Maananga he knew all that was going on elsewhere, whence the word *toka-i-maananga* (known in Maananga) is used of omniscience, and is so used today in Christian worship.

In passing it may be noted that the Tongans assert that there have 502
been navigators so skilful that they could tell their whereabouts when out of sight of land by dipping their hands into the sea and scooping up a little of the water. Looking at the sample of ocean the gifted mariner would say "This is the sea of Vavau," "of Tongatabu," and so forth, and thus get his bearings. The last man who possessed this power has not been dead many years.

The old story of Muni of the Torn Eye relates that Bunga (Coral), 787
a chief in the east of Tongatabu, had a white flying-fox which he 825
used for divination. When Muni, whose legendary exploits are 539
strongly reminiscent of those of the god Maui, visited with hostile intent the home of Bunga the latter was out at sea fishing. His flying-fox at once flew out to him, and Bunga, suspecting that matters of grave import were afoot, set himself a sign whereby he should know by the part of the boat on which the creature settled whether

the omen were good or evil. The portent was of bad tidings, and 787 Bunga returned to shore with all possible speed to find that his harem 825 had been ravished (success in the feats of love, as in those of war, 539 being here as elsewhere a mark of the legendary hero), and two great kava plants which had stood near his house torn up and carried away. Bunga pursued Muni, but in the contest which followed he was defeated though not slain.

Old travelers mention a wooden bowl used for divination. The 787 Introduction of the *Voyage of the Duff* in referring to Tasman's visit says, "An elderly chief who seems at that time to have had sovereign authority . . . was highly gratified by the presents made him. Among them was a wooden bowl, probably the same that long [695] afterwards was used by the sovereigns of Tongataboo as a divining cup to convict persons accused of crimes; and the same homage which is rendered to the sovereign when present was paid during his absence to the bowl, as his representative." Later on in the same Introduction 643 it is stated that the king, dining with Captain Cook on board the latter's 784 vessel, was presented by him with a pewter plate, which he said he would substitute for the bowl "which had before sustained the offices of chief justice and viceroy." This pewter plate was still in use at the time of Mariner's residence in Tonga, and Mariner speaks of it as used to remove the tabu from those who had come in contact with the Tui Tonga. "If anyone is tabooed by touching the person or garments of Tooitonga, there is no other chief can relieve him from his taboo, because no chief is equal to him in rank; and, to avoid the inconvenience arising from his absence, a consecrated bowl (or some such thing), belonging to Tooitonga, is applied to and touched, instead of his feet. In Mr. Mariner's time, Tooitonga always left a pewter dish for this purpose, which dish was given to his father by Captain Cook." Probably the account of the bowl or dish representing the Tui Tonga in other affairs besides the removal of tabu is correct. It should in any case be fairly easy to avoid incurring tabu by contact with the Tui Tonga's person during his absence.

Augury of an informal sort was often resorted to much as it is 787 by some Europeans. The first native Christian teachers on their way 797 from Tongatabu to Haapai, which was still heathen, set themselves

793 people, rather than blaming the priest, assumed that
the god had merely changed his mind or had
787 purposely deceived the priest.[16] There were
787 reportedly also times when gods or spirits visited
and inspired persons other than priests.[17]

776 Every family clan in early Tonga was under the
guardianship or protection of a god. At times, a god
613 took possession of an animal or object in order to
communicate a message to human beings. Some of
825 the living representatives used in this way by the
776 gods included the shark, octopus, sea eel, quail,
[262] lizard and flying fox;[18] this explains why certain
[782] species of animals were considered sacred in the past
and thus, were not killed and eaten without a
portion first being offered to the gods.

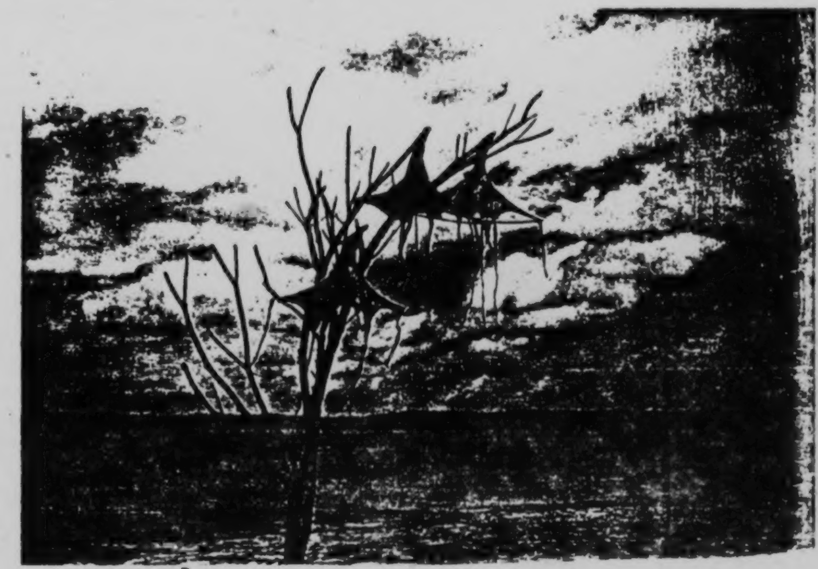
[p.141-B]

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972) 1974
OUP Tonga OUP

251
262
[825]
[178]

Octopus, which in days of old was considered to be a sacred animal, is today a very popular dish in Tonga. One method of preparing it for eating is to dry it, such as is being done with these three octopuses at Ofu, Vava'u.

Na'e pehe tokua he taimi ko e na'e nofo e ngaahi laumalie kehekehe 'i he feke, ka kuo hoko e ika ni ko ha me'a tokoni manakoa 'i Tonga he ngaahi 'aho ni. Ko e ta eni 'o ha fakamomoa feke 'i Ofu, Vava'u.



[P. 41-C]

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825
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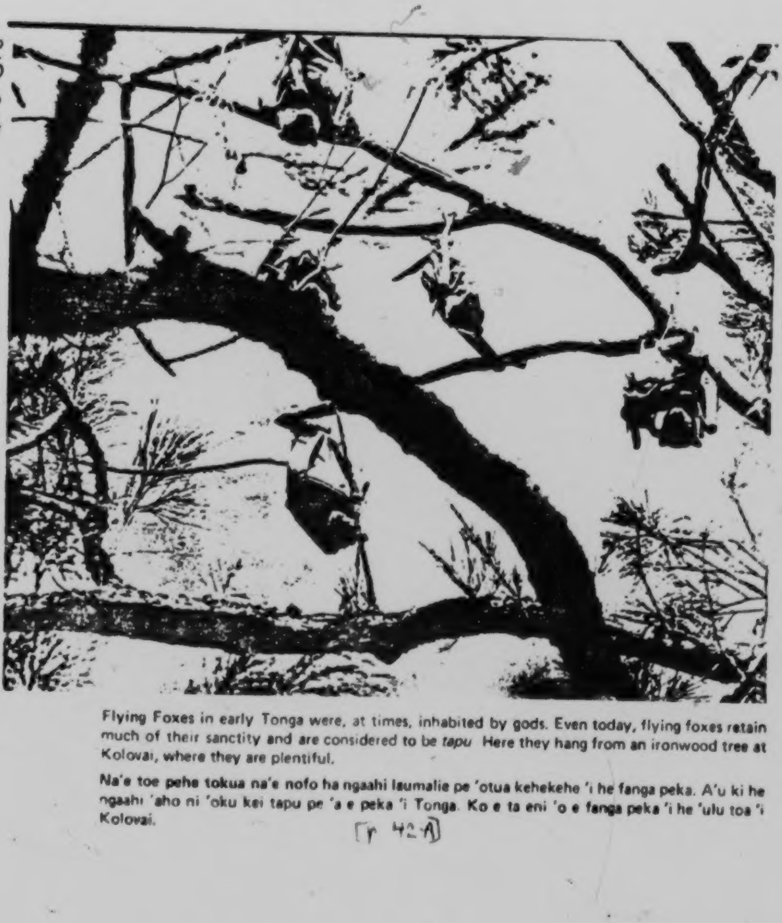

Flying Foxes in early Tonga were, at times, inhabited by gods. Even today, flying foxes retain much of their sanctity and are considered to be *tapu* Here they hang from an ironwood tree at Kolovai, where they are plentiful.

Na'e toe pehe tokua na'e nofo ha ngaahi laumalie pe 'otua kehekehe 'i he fanga peka. A'u ki he ngaahi 'aho ni 'oku kei tapu pe 'a e peka 'i Tonga. Ko e ta eni 'o e fanga peka 'i he 'ulu toa 'i Kolovai.

[p 42-A]

[1777]

648 man who had the management of it. A Cup was carri'd to the Kings
643 Brother, with which and his victuals he retired, as did some others
also, and the reason was they could neither eat nor drink before the
276 King; but there were others of a much inferior rank who did both.[1]
574 Soon after the most of them retired, each carrying with them what
victuals he or she had not eat. It is necessary to observe that not one
648 4th part of the Company had either Victuals or drink and some had
643 one and not the other: those who had the Victuals I took to be of the
276 Kings household. The Servants who served out the Victuals and
574 Cava always delivered it out of their hand siting, not only to the
King but to every other person. And altho this was the first time of
644 our landing, and a great many people present who had never seen
264 us before yet no one was troublesome, but the greatest good order
was Observed throughout the whole. Before I went on board I was
648 shewed some pools or holes of fresh Water as they were pleased to
call it; the Water in one was indeed tolerable but it was some distance
Wed. 11 in land and but little of it. The next morning I went over to the
312 island of *Pangymaudoo*,[2] near which we lay, to look for Water being
told there was some there; I was conducted to a small Pool that was
tolerable and had it cleaned out and here it was we watered the
122 Ships. As I intended to make some stay here I got all the Cattle a
shore,[3] a party of Marines with the officer for a guard, set up the
observatory and M^{r} King resided a shore to attend the observations
and superintend the several works carrying on there, for I had the

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[648] young persons who had clean mouths and good teeth were allowed to take part in the
chewing. This was not a prolonged process, and the masticated root was kept dry. What
[643] Cook calls 'brewing' was really infusing. He was not always put off by the sight of the
process. 'Capt^{n} Cook often drank of it, holding it as an argument that seamen should eat
[276] & drink every thing that came in their way, some of our Officers follow'd y^{e} good example
set them, I must acknowledge either my want of taste or politeness for I could by no means
[574] be brought to taste it in a mixture, contenting myself with taking it in y^{e} manner of y^{e}
slaves, the least piece put in y^{e} mouth fills it with an instant glowing heat, it is nearest in
[122] taste to y^{e} horse-radish of any thing I can recollect.'—Williamson, 17 July.

[1] '... what at first appears singular, is, that although neither his brother nor any great chiefs can eat before him, yet his own attendants do & sometimes with him, this cannot be suppos'd to degrade his dignity & lessen it, as they are not exalted sufficiently to claim any [563] libertys he does not chuse to grant.'—King, 7 June. The reason for this exception to the general eating rule was probably that those who were favoured were, as Cook says below, 'of the Kings household'—that is, they were *matapule*, and also *matapule* of foreign origin. The inconvenience of the eating *tapu*, and other varieties of *tapu*, carried to an extreme of consistency with personal attendants, might well be very great, but one who was rankless in any Tongan connection was exempt. Thus Hoakai (Samoan Soakai?) 'a matapule to the Tui Tonga, was privileged to eat with the Tui Tonga, a thing which no Tongan might do' (Gifford, p. 141).

[131] [2] Pangaimotu. It is a small island, less than a square mile in area and 15 feet high, 2½ miles north-east of Nuku'alofa.

[825] [3] '... they were much surprizd at our Cattle and called them Boaha,la,hi; which signifies, large Hogs....'—Gilbert. The Tongan expression is *puaka lahi*. I have been told that the Tongans still refer to cattle and other livestock as 'Cook's pigs'.

541 people and we hourly experienced it; all our care and attention did
571 not prevent them from plundering us in every quarter and that in the
most daring and insolent manner, there was hardly any thing they
685 did not attempt, and yet as the crowd was always so great I would
not allow the sentries to fire lest the innocent should suffer for the
685 guilty.[1] They once at Noon day attempted to take an anchor from off
the Discoverys waste, they had certainly succeeded if the flook had
not hooked one of the Chain plates in lowering it down the side from
which they could not disingage it by hand, and tackles were things
they were unacquainted with, or theres no doubt but they would
[825] have found one. The only act of Violence they were guilty of, was the
breaking the shoulder bone of one of our Goats, so that she died soon
after; this loss fell upon themselves, as she was one of those I intended
to leave upon the island, but this the person who did [it did] not
know.

648 685 304 WEDNESDAY 18*th*. Early in the Morning of the 18th a circumstance
happened that strongly pointed out one of their customs; a man got

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541 [1] Theft, which had so often been exasperating in the islands, now, it seems, had Cook at
his wits' end. 'All the diversions and exercises of these Islanders', writes Burney (f. 204v)
571 'are performed with a natural ease and grace not to be excelled. they are very handy and
have great contrivance: some of their thefts were executed with a degree of genius, or
685 rather finesse that proved them no novices in the art of confederacy.' And King, 19 June:
'. . . the Sailmakers & carpenters have been all the time on shore & fully employ'd, & in
648 spight of our endeavours they lose daily their tools, or something is stolen out of the tent, &
often very audaciously, it cannot be suppos'd but that amongst 10,000 people surrounding
us, all idle, but that many must be worthless.' They stole anything, and Cook applied the
lash as he had never done before. Nor was he easy on his own men. Rickman (p. 104)
records that 'Mr. Phillipson [*sic*], lieutenant of marines, lost all his bedding, by the carelessness of the centinel, who received 12 lashes for neglect of duty'. If anything material
was stolen, Bayly says, 'we got them again by applying to the Chiefs. But whenever we
catch the Thief he is punished with a severe floging & if he is a man of Property Capt Cook
obliges them to ransom him with Hoggs & Fruit, & in some instances may be said to have
been guilty of great cruelty'.—T, p. 105. Edgar records 3 dozen lashes given a Tongan on
shore for theft on 13 June; and in the ship (*Discovery*), on the 14th, 2 dozen and 3 dozen;
on the 17th, 4 dozen; the 24th, 5 dozen, to a man who celebrated dinner with Clerke by
stealing 'one Tumbler and two Wine Glasses'; while on the 28th, when three old offenders
were taken prisoner, 'who had ston'd our Centinels and Wood Cutter's', Cook punished
one with 3 dozen, the second with 4 dozen, and the third with 6 dozen lashes, and had
both the last man's arms scored below the shoulder 'with a common Knife, that he might
be known hereafter, as well as to deter the rest from theft or using us ill when on shore'.—
'this the Man bore with all the Fortitude imaginable as indeed they all did their punishments, but for all this they continued their Insults and thefts to the last.'—Edgar log,
f. 88. Small shot did no good: the people merely hid in the trees and threw more stones.
[181] Cook rather upset the young Gilbert, who found that the people of Tongatapu 'in every
action . . . display'd an Elevation of the mind that wou'd do honour to an European in the
most distinguished sphere in Life'. Yet there was the thieving. 'This vice which is very
pervilent here; Capt Cook punish'd in a manner rather unbecoming of a European vizt
by cutting off their ears; fireing at them with small shot; or ball [this is hard to believe] as
they were swimming or paddling to the shore; and suffering the people (as he rowed after
them) to beat them with the oars; and stick the boat hook into them; where ever they could
hit them. . . .' The arm-slashing was 'an act I cannot account for, any other ways than to
have proceeded from a momentary fit of anger, as it certainly was not in the least premiditated'.—Gilbert, pp. 42–3. We shall see other notes on the subject.

[1777]

775 situation) and that there they live for ever, or to use their own
expression are not subject to death again and feed upon all the
[565 products of their own country with which it is plentifully stor'd. The
souls of the lower sort again undergo a sort of transmigration, or as
[825] they say is eat up by a bird call'd Loáta[1] which walks upon their
grave for that purpose.

Their form of government is monarchical and that hereditary, as it
642 has been a long time in the present family who are call'd Futta'faihe's,
643 Poulaho being only a name added to distinguish the reigning king
from the others of his family, a circumstance practis'd by all the men
643 of consequence. They seem to reckon their long periods of time by
[173] their reigns, for they have preservd the circumstance of Tasman
having been amongst them in 1643 by that means, reckoning
Poulaho the fifth of the Futta'faihes that has govern'd the island since
that time; and describe the two ships he had, their going afterwards
to Annamocka &c in such a manner that it gives great weight to the
good authority and exactness oral tradition often preserves. We are
certain that the son succeeds the father at his decease, but it seems not
the exclusive privilege of the eldest, as we were assur'd Poulaho had
several sons besides he whom we saw so particularly distinguishd at
642 the Natche. In several respects the Government resembles the
old feudal states of Europe, where though all acknowledge the
Sovereignty of the Prince there are many who seem to excercise their
authority with no less restraint in their several provinces, and are in
some respects wholly independent unless in the single circumstance
634 of paying the homage due to the Lord of all. The island is divided
into many districts of which we have been able to procure the names
103 of above thirty[a] each of which has a chief who may be considerd as

[a] These are
Mooa (Poulaho)
Hee'heefo (Fee'nou)
Ha'hagge
Fanaa lai'oonga
A'teeho
Mele'kakke
Mattage'hai
Nafoo'aloo
Fai'geeta
Nooa laiee
Fa'tafoo
Halongo'ou
Poha
Wagge'manatoo
Lollo fo'nooa
Tooa'vao
Ha'vailoo
Ootoo'laoo
Hamoo'toogoo
Falla'jeeoo
Neeoovaloo
Lollo'bango
Fanga'laipa
Halla'kaoo
Noogoo noogoo (Maree'wagee)
Háá'toonga
Taigee'oo
Anga'háá
A'vakka'foohoo
A'vakka'toto
Koka'longa
Noo'gooa'foffa
Matjeenee

[The greater number of these districts are easily identifiable in Gifford's *Place Names of Tonga*, and the section on land-ownership in his *Tongan Society*, pp. 171 ff., is interesting. Anderson seems to have only one slip in spelling, his 'Noo'gooa, foffa' for, presumably, Nuku'alofa.]

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[1] I cannot trace this bird. Mariner defines 'Loata' as a large black ant; an ant is *lo*.

439 We were soon surrounded by a great number of Canoes full of men
who behaved in a friendly manner to us and sold us Hogs, Cocoa nuts,
Plantains and other fruits for nails & beads.

122 JUNE 11th. The Tents with the 2 Astronomers' Observatories were
erected on shore under a Guard of Marines, & all our live Stock was
landed which consisted of 4 Horses, several head of Cattle, Sheep,
Goats & Hogs with Peacocks, Turkies & Geese. Our Tents were
situated at the upper end of a fine Area surrounded by Trees, it seems
to be a place appropriated for the Exhibition of Public Games, such
as wrestling, boxing &c. Close to the Tents was one of the Chiefs
Houses, behind them lay a thick wood, on the right an Inlet which
extended a considerable way up but was dry at low water, on the left
was the Harbour where we could see between the Trees the Ships at
anchor; the Observatories were erected without the Area close to the
Beach but within sight of the Tents, they were inclosed with a Hedge
[312] & always guarded by a Sentry. Near the Tents was a pool of indifferent
fresh Water, of which there are many in the Island and are
[515] used as bathing places by the Natives. Powlohow took up his residence
177 in a House a little way without the Area, that next to the Tents
was occupied by his Consent by some of the Gentlemen who were
825 ordered a shore on duty, and another little Hut close by was allotted
[122] us for the use of our Cattle & Poultry, whose appearance excited as
[643] much astonishment and admiration as a Collection of wild Beasts at a
Country fair in England. The Indians were a long time before they
could be persuaded to approach near to the Horses & Cattle, but our
Sheep & Goats, being more like their Hogs, they did not regard with
the same degree of Terror tho' it was some time before they became
thoroughly reconciled to the Goats; these on being approached by
the Indians would rear on their hind Legs & make a push at them,
which put them in bodily fear & often made whole armies fly.
However they found out by degrees that they were as innocent as the
Sheep & only more playful, so that at last the Indians passed by them
648 or advanced up to them without any dread. During the time of
erecting our Tents we were surrounded by a great Number of
609 Indians who behaved in an orderly and peaceable Manner and at
643 night retired to their several Homes except the attendants of Powlohow,
who remained with him at his House waiting for his Supper.
[431] Some Servants arrived with provisions enough for a Hundred men
which Powlohow, after a basket or two were laid by for himself,
ordered to be laid at the Doors of our Tents as a present for our
people together with a number of Cocoa nuts; the provision he

[449 cont.]

175
136 but which proved to be bats when we came nearer. They clung to
[137] the twigs, by the hooked claws, which are at the extremity of their
webbed fingers and toes; sometimes they hung with the head downwards,
and sometimes the reverse. We shot [450] at them, and brought
down six or eight at once, besides wounding several others which
held fast on the tree. They were of the kind which is commonly called
the vampyre (12), and measured from three to four feet between the
expanded wings. A great number of them were disturbed at our firing,
and flew from the tree very heavily, uttering a shrill piping note;
some likewise arrived from remote parts at intervals to the tree,
but the greatest number remained in their position, and probably go
out to feed only by night. As they live chiefly upon fruit, it is
likely that they commit great depredations in the orchards of the
natives, some of whom being present when we fired, seemed very well
175 pleased with the death of their enemies. We had seen some of
224 them who had caught these bats alive, and placed them in a cage of
wickerwork very ingeniously contrived, with an entrance like that
of a fish-basket, where the animal could easily be put in, but could
175 not come out again. They likewise assured us the bats were very
825 mordacious, for which purpose they seemed indeed to be well provided
136 with large sharp teeth.

175 We had already observed at Taheitee, at the Society Islands,
764 and even at Ea-oowhe, that wherever we met with a casuarina, a
137 burying-place was at hand. Therefore, at sight of this venerable
[071] tree, which was hung with ill-omened creatures, we immediately conjectured
that it would [451] lead us to a cemetery or place of worship, and

12. La Rougette, of M. de Buffon. Vampyrus of Linné, and Pennant.

127 concepts to the descriptions (Vide Fenton 1966: 75; Lurie 1961).

The ethnohistorical researcher often combines archival research with ethnographic field work in the society (Vide Dodge 1968: 9; Lurie 1961: 87; Gunson 1963: 417; and Cohn 1968). For the Tongan research I went to Tonga not only to see what the present day society was like but also to gather some specific information based on questions raised in the course of reading. En route to Australia in 1970 I assessed the quantity and quality of the Tongan archival materials for my specific ethnographic reconstruction problem. Returning to Tonga in 1971 I cross-checked some ethnographic information in the 19th Century manu-
127 script with 20th Century Tongan interpretations of the past. This
124 ethnographic information included questions on Tongan historical events of the 19th Century and comparisons of manuscript and genealogical data gathered in Australia with both written and verbal genealogies in Tonga.

Thomas recorded a vast range of miscellaneous information and in 1971 I queried some Tongans about some of his statements. As an
127 example, at one point in his journal Thomas wrote:

825

> The reason why the whales are said to come so near land at this time is--that this is the yam planting season--viz. digging holes in the soil for the yams to grow in. It is said that many worms are now out & destroyed and as the whale considers the worm as his tama sympathy is supplied to bring them near (Thomas, Journal, September 21, 1848).

The term tama has as its referent, a child, especially a son, and also
[124] "fellow one,--even of animals, fish, etc." (Churchward 1959: 451). In 1971, while in Tonga, I queried some Tongans about whaling practices and myths concerning them. The Tongans I spoke to had never heard of

74: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1978
(ca. 1800-1850)
OU9 Tonga OU9

127 [825] [124] this story, yet it sounded 'logical' to some. Whether or not I can eventually accept Thomas' description for a statement of ethnohistorical fact on Tongan mythology remains to be seen, since this is the only instance I had recorded an extract of this type from the manuscript accounts. But ethnohistorical researchers can gather information recorded in the past, ask the natives for contemporary descriptions, and see what is the correlation between the descriptions.

Tongan ethnohistorical information of the 19th Century must be considered not only in the context of aboriginal Tongan society but also in the context of aboriginal Polynesian society. Do the missionary descriptions "make sense" in the context of what is known and accepted for other Polynesian societies? The missionaries frequently wrote of 'otua and in his 1826 account, Thomas wrote of the "hootooa or spirit." A 19th Century Wesleyan dictionary transcribed the term as "Otua" and defines it as "God" (Rabone 1845: 20). Other checks for external consistency may be made on this term. Mariner's 1817 work on Tonga, which the missionaries had access to, had: "God (a spirit of any kind). Hotooa" (Mariner 1817, II: no page). Cross-checking Mariner's own vocabulary one finds:

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> Hotoo'a. An immaterial being, as a god, spirit, soul, apparition or phantom; also any evil coming, as it were, by the infliction of the gods; a bodily complaint; a boil. This word is also sometimes applied to foreigners (Ibid.).

In Mariner's slightly revised edition of 1827, the following is found:

> Hootooa. An immaterial being, as a god, spirit, &c., also any evil by the infliction of the gods, a bodily complaint, a boil. This word sometimes applies to foreigners (Mariner 1827, II: lxxii).

79: Lātūkefu H,I, M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
OU9 Tonga OU9

The *kau* Tangaloa were principally creator gods and there were 776
no temples or priests dedicated to them (Gifford 1929:289)
and the creator of some of the islands of Tonga and
of the first people, Kohai, Koua and Momo (Thomas 1879:
12). The *kau* Maui were believed to have fished up most of
the islands of the Tongan group. One Maui was also believed to [823
carry the earth upon his shoulder, and an earthquake was supposed]
to be caused either by a Maui changing the earth from one shoulder
to another, or falling asleep and nodding his head. Hikule'o was [821]
believed to control the weather and the fertility of the land. The
Tu'i Tonga was regarded as her representative on earth and the [643]
annual *'inasi* offerings to the Tu'i Tonga were actually offered [651]
to her.[6]

Although the principal deities were widely recognised, they
were not as important in everyday affairs as the gods who were
confined to particular localities. Thus each chief and his people
had their own gods. These were usually the spirits of their 775
dead chiefs. It was believed that when members of the chiefly
class died they (or their spirits) went to Pulotu where Hikule'o [565]
resided. There they became gods of secondary order, and [825]
were thought to return to earth in the form of sharks, various
animal species, and, in one case, an octopus, or were embodied [778]
in a whale tooth, a shell or a carved piece of wood (Gifford
1929:289-90; Wilson 1799:272; Te Rangi Hiroa 1935:12).

These secondary gods were consulted in the event of war or 793
before embarking on long sea voyages, and sacrifices were offered
to them in cases of illness (Collocott 1921:158). The offerings 787
to the gods were made through a priest, and if he were dissatisfied 782
he would ask 'Do you think I am going to take any notice of
such paltry things as you have brought?' The poor people on
hearing this would go to fetch more costly gifts and sometimes, if
they received no assistance from the first deity to whom they
had sacrificed, they would visit five or six gods in succession. If
they obtained satisfaction, it was believed that the gods were
pleased and were pleading on their behalf with the venerable

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[6] Some thought that Hikule'o was a male god (Lawry 1850:251); Collocott 1921:152).

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 8]

> 669 salvation to God & our prayers for them, some say why what are
> 728 they? They wonder they are alive but it must be because their friends
> have prayed much for them.

The fears of the heathen chiefs of Tongatapu that King George
669 might extend his campaign of destruction of the sacred places and
643 effigies proved justified. Everywhere King George and his warriors
went during the war they burnt down and destroyed god-houses,
798 objects of worship, and sacred places. The *vao tapu* (sacred
wood) of the famous sanctuary of Ma'ofanga, which had been so
sacrosanct that no one could approach it, on pain of death, was
cut down and sold to the sailors for firewood. Many of the warriors
from the north took back with them, as souvenirs, pieces of wood
made into staffs from this sacred place. Later in June, when peace
had been restored, Rabone (Journal, 23 June 1837) wrote:

> Last night we walked out to the Mafanga of all others the most sacred place in these islands . . . King George . . . burnt down the spirit houses and now all appears desolation he has planted bananas on the most sacred ground and I was glad to see that the Gods & Devils had not prevented their growth they look well and promise abundant fruit in their season.

798 It was soon clear that, in spite of the return to peace, the
heathens had not abandoned their resolve to stop the spread of
Christianity. Unfortunately, the Christians themselves furnished
some provocation which gave the heathens a pretext for further
hostilities.

The first incident occurred on 25 July 1837. Describing what
669 happened, Rabone (Journal, 25 July 1837) wrote, 'I fired a
778 loaded gun as a chief who was near the premises at the time
rushed in and seized me attempting dragging me about vocifer-
825 ating in the most devilish manner . . . .' Rabone did not say
797 what he was firing at, but Commodore Wilkes (1845:181) said
that it was a sacred pigeon which was revered by the people. It is
very likely that Rabone acted in ignorance. At Kolovai where he
was stationed it was flying foxes and not pigeons which were
[565] regarded as sacred. In fact one of the most popular sports among
[229] the chiefs was catching pigeons. However, there was a *fa'ahinga*
(clan) at Kolovai known as Matapā whose land was adjacent to

the mission house. These people had originally belonged to Ve'ehala of Fāhefa, but had been invited by Ata to settle at Kolovai. It so happened that Ve'ehala's god was a pigeon. What appears to have caused the upset was that Rabone was seen shooting a pigeon by the head of the Matapā clan, and he of course would still revere the bird. 669 778 825 797

However, the rough treatment which the heathen chief gave Rabone over the shooting incident grieved the Christians very much. Referring to this, Rabone (Journal, 25 July 1837) recorded: 669 797

> Almost all our friends from the Foui [the centre of the Christians at Hihifo] had arrived both female & male and all weeping. Ulakai and Setaleki [the two leading Christian chiefs at Hihifo] went to the vagabond and gave him a smart telling too . . . .

Another source of annoyance to the heathen chiefs was the policy of persuading, and in some cases forcing, influential chiefs from Tongatapu to go to Vava'u and Ha'apai, so that they would become converted there. 'Ahome'e, a great chief from Hihifo, went to Vava'u in 1837, and when he returned he told Ata that he had become a Christian, much to the discomfort of the heathens. King George visited Tongatapu in December 1837 and tried to influence Ata to accept Christianity, but was refused. When King George returned to Ha'apai in February of the following year, Rabone (Journal, 24 Feb. 1838) wrote:

> We rejoice that Fatu's son Finau is gone with him and also Mahe'uli'uli . . . It is in this way that we expect the enemy must be weakened in Tonga at least this is one way viz the removing of certain influential characters to Haabai and Vavau where they will embrace religion return to this their own land and instruct their heathen relatives and people.

It was when Ulakai decided to seize five apostates from the fortress of Kolovai, in May 1838, and send them to Ha'apai that the already strained relations between the two factions deteriorated to a dangerous degree. The heathens closed their fortress 'for the preacher' and made preparations for war.

When the situation at Hihifo became too precarious, Rabone decided it was advisable to abandon the mission after he had

than the way in which they noose sharks ; instances of sharks attacking 226
natives are very rare. Whales are sometimes caught. Turtles are also 225
plentiful. Perhaps the most interesting creature in Tonga is a land-tortoise,
now kept in the Palace grounds at Nuku'alofa, and reputed to 231
have been left by Captain Cook ; it has been scarred by bush-fires and 825
other accidents, but in its old age it is honoured as though it were a chief
and is called Tu'imalila, after a part of Labaha called Malila. 552

The graceful coconut-palm is the most distinctive as well as the 245
most valuable of plants in Tonga. All parts of the islands being very
close to the sea, coconut trees thrive everywhere, and copra, the dried
kernel of the nut, is the staple product. Other plants which grow in 241
profusion are many varieties of banana, plantain, yam, sweet potato,
talo, manioc, sugar-cane, pineapple, breadfruit, papaw-apple, mango and
arrowroot. Coffee, cocoa and cotton have been introduced but are not
yet extensively grown. Various European vegetables have also been
introduced, and corn has proved the best cereal for this climate.

Bananas, sweet potatoes, pineapples, tomatoes, pumpkins and 439
oranges could be exported in abundance, if markets were available. The
staple foodstuffs of the people are yam, sweet potato, talo, manioc, kabe, 262
plantain, breadfruit, etc.

The bark of the paper-bark mulberry is extensively used for making 824
native cloth (taba and gatu), and the sap of the koka tree is used for [287]
stamping this cloth. Mats are made from the leaves of the pandanus,
but unfortunately this domestic manufacture is declining generally, [285]
except in Ha'abai. The trunks of the toa (ironwood) and koka are used [178]
for the posts of native buildings, but timber generally suitable for building [313]
European houses is not found in Tonga. The ironwood or casuarina
tree was used for making clubs and spears formerly, and is still used for
spade handles and mallets. The best of the old canoes were brought 505
from Fiji, where more suitable timber for all purposes is available. 439

Kava, the juice of a species of pepper-plant, is the national drink
on all occasions. Other interesting trees are the ovava, a species of 276
banyan ; gatae and tuitui (candle-nut) used for marking boundaries ;
Malayan apple or fekika, tava, and the ifi, whose leaves were hung round 137
the neck in token of surrender or penitence in olden times. 824

Government statistics in 1931 show a total of 2,658,644 coconut
trees and 832,655 banana plants in the Kingdom, 94% being owned by 245
Tongan cultivators.

EXPORTS.

Tonga is entirely an agricultural country, being without minerals 433
and secondary industries. It is unfortunate that there are still fairly
considerable areas of undeveloped land even in such a small country, 433
especially in Togatabu and 'Eua, and further that several hundred tax-payers 311
have no allotments ; this latter condition is mainly due to indolence
on the part of some who live in the chief towns, but in the case of the
overcrowded islands of Ha'abai it rises from rather a natural reluctance
to leave an old home. The Government is now making strenuous efforts 179
to enforce both more systematic cultivation of coconut-growing land and 245

/22 cont./

181 823 despite their large department stores, movies and colorful life and bustle, do not have an irresistible attraction. The Tongans like to travel there, especially to shop, or for entertainment, to visit a relative or to attend a large festival. Still generally they soon return to their small island, lost in the ocean, and despite a certain wanderlust, there are also a number of Tongan men and women who never leave the island they were born on. "Flight from the country," a general "Rush toward the city" is not observable.

181 152 The Tongan with his kind nature is very emotional in matters of human concern. This shows in his daily life, at arrivals and departures of relatives and friends, and especially in church where their empathy for the biblical passages discussed will bring tears to the eyes of most preachers and many of the faithful (men as well as women); such emotions can become so intense that the preacher's sobbing may make his words unintelligible. Yet /23/ there is also no (593) (578) dearth of examples of hardness and brutality. Some Tongans beat their wives badly, and gory brawls among young natives do occur. The public, however, does not regard these incidents as an ordinary state of affairs, but is quite aware that they are exceptions.

181 825 (152) Animals, on the other hand, are outside the emotions of the Tongans and, in the eyes of the natives, are not regarded as creatures with feelings of their own. They are usually subject to brutal, not merely harsh treatment, according to our ideas. Thirsty horses and cattle tethered in the bush are, as a rule, reluctantly led to watering places, (26) and the starving, half-parched, degenerate dogs are usually hit with heavy objects or harshly stepped on if they timidly and meekly come

26. On Nomuka in December 1951 a bull perished from "dehydration" when its owner "forgot" to water it.

/23 cont./

181 [825] near a group eating together. Children play catch with captured wild birds until the latter perish, while adults raise no objection.

181 178 The Tongan character which, along with a large measure of kindness, was at one time also characterized by a certain brutality toward human beings, (27)

> 27. For example, Martin, loc, cit. I, pp. 84/85, 210; Wood, loc. cit. pp. 28, 32, 38, 48.

seems to have changed (28)

> [797] 28. Doubtless especially because of the strong missionary influence and the corresponding government authority inspired by it.

to the extent that today brutal behavior toward fellow-humans is regarded as revolting and almost never occurs.

181 These natives definitely give the impression of a peaceable, rural people attached to their soil. The daring that characterized their forefathers who, as intrepid seafarers, crossed the ocean, seems to be lost. Yet this impression is misleading. Those Tongans who [484] nowadays cross the vast ocean every day in their small, primitive and [502] overloaded cutters, the men who in a storm in January 1952 salvaged [226] an unmanned cutter driven on a reef outside Nomuka by swimming out [648] into the surging sea, the young natives who, with their catapults, [701] shoot fish swimming below the surface in the shark-infested sea, as well as the large number of those who volunteered for action in the last war (and the attitude of the 50 Tongan fighters on the Solomons) prove that the Tongan, even under altered living conditions, has preserved his ancient valor. The old Polynesian urge to seek and colonize new land has, however, disappeared. Stubbornly the Tongan [823] inhabitants remain on their presently occupied and, in part, over- [241] populated islands; at best they /24/ will lay out a few plantings on neighboring islands and disregard the fertile and as yet unoccupied islands of the Archipelago. (29)

/178 cont./

Fishing with Dynamite:

226 The natives ignite the fuse cord of a dynamite charge and throw
389 the explosive into the sea. The killed fish rise to the surface.
[656] (Sometimes practiced, though forbidden by law.)

Catching Sharks:

'anga:

226 The natives sail out to the high seas in a sailboat and beat
[825] the water with a ring (made of coconut husk), which produces a certain noise that attracts the sharks. With bait (for example, pork) they lead them to the side of the boat, catch them with a noose and kill them.

Catching Octopus:

makafeke:

The octopus hook (makafeke) consists of a conically sharpened stone approximately ten centimeters long on which are fastened two pieces of a tiger mussel ("back") and on which are also tied a root piece of the coconut palm and several of the palm pinnae as "tail" (some 50 centimeters long), as well as a couple of pinnae as "legs," so that the whole resembles a rat. Early in the morning, at low tide, they punt over the reef in an outrigger, hold the hook on a string in the water, at a depth of approximately 20 to 50 centimeters, and move it jerkily. The octopus seizes the "rat," is taken off the hook and killed.

226 Gathering octopus (a'a feke), Mussels, Algae and Crabs:
222 Women in particular scour the shore reefs on the surf side of
-462 the islands (liku) at ebb tide for sea food. With a stick or an iron rod (tao ukame'a, see above: sengai) they poke octopus out of reef hollows and kill them. The Tonga women also hunt for mussels (for example, kuku) and seaweed (for example, limu) and dig for crabs

771 /251 cont./
775 intelligent men are convinced that spirits exist (671)
178

671. These are today known as tevolo (devils), as a result of mission work.

and are seized with cold fear, for example, while riding horseback
at night in bushland. It sometimes happens that Tongans report
[787] ghastly experiences which they allegedly had with such spirits. Some
771 natives also believe, as they did in the past, (672)
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672. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 236.

787
825 that the call of the sikota bird announces disaster and that it
embodies the voice of a dead person. The fata is similarly regarded
[763] as a bird of death; if they hear it at night, the early death of a
villager may be expected. The tapu that has degenerated to nothing
784 more than simple magic in the form of using taboo against theft on
789 field products and fruit trees by means of /attaching/ bunches of
685 foilage (673)
178

[753] 673. Leaves wrapped in raw tapa (feta'aki) with a strip of feta'aki hanging on it to mark it; the thief stealing fruit on which a taboo has been placed is supposed to be punished with certain illnesses (for example, ulcers, paralysis).

was still used up to a few decades ago; today the natives rely on their own vigilance, and in places where they suspect plantation thefts they station cooperative groups of watchmen. (674)

[753] 674. See also pp. 99-102 on taboo in present-day Tonga; some natives also still believe that it is not good to take food leftovers and cigarettes from a chief; ulcers on the chin area are supposed to be the consequence.

773 The beautiful old myths are mostly forgotten, except for those that
178 are today taught in the schools and that have kept the character of
fairy tales that people like to listen to but that they do not
believe to be true. When earthquakes, which are frequent in Tonga,

for that time of the year. The *pola* is then taken out in a semicircular fashion, the opening facing the beach, and is half buried in the sand to prevent it from being shifted by the currents. Sticks are then put up along the line which completes the preliminary work. 226

After a few days watching the tide, the *toutai* gives the word and hundreds of people go out and loosen the half buried line and tie it to the sticks and remain there to keep the lines in position. It must be noted that the approach to the line must be made outside the blockaded area. When the tide begins to turn, big fish start to return to deep sea and on returning they find themselves enclosed by the coconut leaves and fishermen behind the line. They are forced to turn back and look for an opening to get out but each time they approach the line they are forced back with spears to the blockaded area. As the tide goes out some fish are so scared that they prefer to swim around inside the blockade and some take the risk to try and pass the blockade although this is always unsuccessful.

When the tide is nearly out and the fish is floundering in shallow water or in little pools, the *toutai* gives the word and everybody is allowed to go inside the line and fish for himself.

Kind of fish usually caught by this method: 1. Matu; 2. Te'efo; 3. Sipesipa; 4. Kanahe; 5. Tanutanu; 6. Kavakava; 7. Kiokio; 8. Toke; 9. Mataolo'i. [825]

(b) *Faka'uvea* is the method of catching fish employed by the Niuatoputapu island people. It apparently originates from Uvea (Wallis Island). Whole coconut leaves are used, weighted with stones. [177] [227]

This method of fishing is similar to *pola* but instead of one day only, it goes on for 3-4 months (Feb.-May), during the arrival of millions of small *vete*, called in Niuatoputapu *kaloama*. Larger fish of this kind, somewhat like the surmullet, are called *ulumakau*. 825 226

The fish enters the traps near to the shore at high tide. When tide starts to turn, they take up positions near the openings. These openings are of such size that they can be closed with one leg. A *kenu* made of the midrib of coconut leaves is placed in the opening at A to collect the small fish. When it is full, it is emptied into baskets while the opening 226

226 is kept closed with the leg to prevent the fish escape. Sometimes larger fish like mullets or kingfish are caught in this way.

(c) *Uloa.* Again coconut leaves are used in this method of fishing in very much the same manner as described in (a) above but the *pola* is higher due to its being used in much deeper water. The *uloa* is worked around slowly to form a complete circle with a radius of something like one hundred yards.

When the circle is completed, it is gradually made
smaller by pulling both ends of the line and a few swimmers
[227] keep the circle in shape. As the circle becomes smaller and
smaller the *tuki* or big strong basket made of coconut husks
and fibre is being placed at the point where the ends meet.

As the circle closes the fish seek the shelter of the basket. When all the fish are in, the *tuki* is closed and the fish are trapped.

With this method of fishing, one kind of fish is usually caught in one haul, with few strangers amongst them. The reason for this is the dropping of the line amongst a school of fish.

Kind of fish usually caught with this method: 1. Koango;
[825] 2. 'Ume; 3. Kiokio; 4. Lupo; 5. Momoa; 6. Fate; 7. Fai;
8. Tanutanu.

(d) *Toto.* At Niuatoputapu is a method similar to *uloa*
and used in certain lagoons to catch mullet (usually in
226 March). A whole wall of plaited coconut leaves up to twelve
227 feet wide and as long as the width of the lagoon is being
pulled towards where the mullet is driven into the *tuki.*
Mullet jumping out of the water are caught in a net (*heu*),
ending in a bag tied to a frame with handle.

(e) *Tuotua.* This is an easy method of fishing mostly
226 carried out by women of the Northern groups, particularly
[227] Ha'apai. Larger Tongan baskets made out of coconut leaves
and called *'oa,* are left out in the sun to dry until they are of
a brownish colour. At low tide these baskets are taken to the
reefs, filled to the top with attractive corals and placed
amongst the coral reefs. With long sticks, the women then
go out about the reefs, poking the bottom of each rock where
the fish lives. This disturbance forces them to leave their
present hiding places and look for others amongst the corals.

The women then move on to the next one and so on until 226 the fish find shelter under the coral in the basket. The basket is then quickly lifted to the surface, the corals thrown out, leaving the fish.

(f) *Ta 'atu.* This method of fishing is carried out only by the people of Ha'ano in the Ha'apai group. A school of fish known as *atu* visits Ha'ano's beaches several times a year. It seems strange that this species does not appear in any other island of the Kingdom. There is a legend which tells of some connection between the chief of the island [773] "Tu'iha'angana" and the *'atu.* Even if it is only a myth, this primitive way of fishing still exists today.

When the school is known to approach the island, the chief and all women and children must go inside their houses making no noise whatsoever, not leave their dwellings whilst the men lie in wait at the beach for the *'atu* to move closer to the shore. When the fish comes to rest near the beach, the men with their *hau* or hook in readiness, enter the water in single file at two points to form a semicircle, thus enclosing the school against the beach and herding them closer and closer.

The fishing now starts. Every man chops with his *hau* into the mass of fish. A fish, being hit and pierced by the *hau* is quickly pushed right through the hook and on to the connecting line where the catch is strung until the campaign is over. This goes on until the school is so disturbed that they either jump on to the dry sand or to break through the human blockade. At this stage, the fishermen not wanting to chase the *'atu* altogether from their beaches, gather their catch and go ashore, leaving the others to reorganise and enjoy the liberty of the beach without further disturbance until next time. The inhabitants of the island can now [784] resume their normal duties but the beach is *tapu* for some days.

2.—TRAP FISHING.

(a) *Moka* is a fish trap built of roots for catching a sort [825] of herring, in Niuatoputapu called *otule.*

(b) *Fish Fence.* A fence made of sticks and wire netting is put up in shallow water in such an angle that, when the tide is in, the incoming fish, when hitting the fence, are

226 deflected into pockets made at corners where they go in and cannot come out again.

3.—NET FISHING.

If nowadays "net fishing" is not such a widespread Tongan method of catching fish anymore, then at least it must have been very popular approximately 75 to 100 years ago, as there are nets in existence made of *olonga* (*Tonchaedia*, resembling *ramie*) reputed to be over 100 [824] years old and still in good condition. A kind of Ficus was also used for making such nets.

(a) *Kupenga fonu* (Turtle Netting). Netting of turtles 225 is mostly carried out in the Ha'apai group where vast areas with prolific growth of seaweeds are found. Shallow water and much seaweed are known as the home of the turtles and this then is the ideal place for turtle fishing. A fisherman having located an area of seaweed between the small uninhabited islands, drops his net in a straight line at right angle to the flowing current and returns home. After two days he goes back to retrieve his net and usually finds turtles of all sizes caught in the net. In a 50 feet by 12 feet net as many as 10 turtles can be expected and often more, depending on the length and width of the net and the area where it is [286] dropped. These types of nets are usually locally made out of imported seine twine.

(b) *Pa 'Otule* is the netting of the *'otule*. This is a 226 species of fish very similar to the tuna but not more than twenty-four inches long. This species moves about in schools 136 and prefers a sandy beach as a home, for instance the beach [825] of Pangai or Lifuka. In spite of the activities of the island cutters and sailing vessels, the *'otule* are not scared away 226 from beaches to look for shelter elsewhere. Thus, the netting of the *'otule* is perhaps the easiest of all methods of fishing. A fisherman looking for a school of *'otule* has no difficulty whatsoever in locating them from ashore. He paddles his canoe closely direct to them and drops his 12 feet by 6 feet net in front of the school. He then shifts his canoe behind them and makes a big splash by either rocking his canoe or hitting the water with a long stick. The school, noticing this, dash and escapes with fright in the opposite direction and as many as forty are caught in the little net. The fisherman hauls his net and retires. Sometimes a fisherman swims with his net, not requiring a canoe. 226 [481]

(c) *Huluhengi* is and driving of fish in the night with torches towards a net.

(d) *Finaki* is an old way of catching fish by means of traps of the same name. *Finaki* traps are elaborate affairs made of coconut roots or wire netting.

(e) *Ta 'ulukau.* *'Ulukau* is the name of a species of fish 136 which has characteristics similar to the *'atu*. They roam in [825] schools and come to rest near certain beaches of the Northern groups. Netting them there is a method widely 226 used.

(f) *Fakamamaha.* The principles of this method are exactly the same as those of the *pola*, only it is done with an ordinary fish net with weights attached to the bottom. It floats on the surface thus requiring no men to hold the net up as is done with the *pola*. At high tide the net, of about 120 yards in length, is placed in such a position as to enclose an area in a semicircular fashion against the beach. At low tide the fish on returning to deep water cannot get through and so are forced to find shelter in small pools where they are easily caught with spears and *pulou*, that is covering the fish with a net.

(g) *Pulou* is the circular fish net, approximately five [227] yards in radius, at the edges of which lead or zinc weights are attached. A fisherman using the *pulou* carries it on his shoulder, the net, of course, being folded in a way ready for action at short notice. The fisherman wades out knee-deep in the water and looks for fish. The trick of this method is to know the signs in the water of the presence of a school and another is, to approach into close range without frightening the fish away. If one does not master these two tricks, a good collection of corals and seaweeds may be the only reward. When the shoal is located, either coming or returning with the tide, the fisherman crouches to disguise his human form, perhaps hoping to exhibit the appearance of rock. At the same time the net automatically comes to a position ready for throwing. If the school travels towards him, good aim and a perfect throw may finish the day's fishing at once. On the other hand, if the school is moving away,

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226 (b) *Shark Noosing.* This method of shark fishing is
carried out on the outlying reefs and areas where sharks
have not been recently disturbed by passing ships or other
human activity. It is often carried out some fifty miles to
the south of the main island where sharks are so tame that
they often come very close to the boat as if to inspect it.
226 However, the first shark to show up is always given great
825 respect and is named after the most beautiful lady Hina.
She is given flower laurels as well as a bowl of kava before
she is being asked to go and return with all her friends from
the deep. A little while after Hina disappears, more sharks
226 come up near where the boat is. Bait (meat) is then thrown
out on a line and as the shark approaches, it is drawn back
to the boat. As the shark follows the bait alongside the
boat, a noose is thrown around the bait and as the shark
comes closer to the bait through the noose, the bait is drawn
up and the noose is slipped round the shark's neck. The
shark is then pulled on board and killed. If the first shark
disappears from the water with little if any disturbance,
the next can be caught in exactly the same way.

539 (c) *Makafeke (Octopus Baiting).* An old Tongan legend relates that once upon a time a boat, while sailing from one island to another, capsized and a rat, which happened to be on board, set out to swim. While swimming in the ocean and drowning a certainty, an octopus came to the rescue and offered the rat a ride on its head. The rat could not be too thankful and was carried on the head of the most chivalrous octopus. Sighting land, the octopus took the rat close to the beach so that it could swim ashore. The rat after getting ashore showed his appreciation of the octopus' service by singing a little song in return. It goes like this:—

Feke na, feke na,	Octopus, octopus,
Faka hake ki ho 'ula na,	Feel your head above,
Kuo fonufonu te'ekuma.	It's full of rat excretion.

Hearing this, the octopus was so mad at this most ungrateful rat, that he boasted to take revenge against every rat found by him in the water from that day on.

227 *Makafeke* are stones designed to appear something like
a rat with a coconut root as an imaginary tail. The stones
226 are fastened to a line which is shaken above the surface of

226 the water at the vicinity of a reef where octopuses are suspected to make their homes. Looking at this from under water, it certainly creates the desired effect. An octopus, seeing this shaking object and suspecting it to be a rat, speeds forward to take revenge by strangling the bait which is then pulled up with the octopus. Another *feke* is ready to come up the same way, and many more. On a good day's fishing one would be able to get as many as fifty octopuses.

225 [177] (d) *Whaling*. Some sixty odd years ago, an Englishman named Cook, first introduced whaling to the Tonga Islands. He started at Ha'apai and later shifted his outfit to Nuku'alofa where it is now being continued by his descendants. In those days, the method of whaling was very primitive. The whaling boat accompanied by an ordinary sailing boat, called the "life boat," set out in search for whales. The whaling season of Tonga falls within August and September. At this period the whales with their calves [825] are said to be passing through this area on their southward migration, after moving north during the winter months to give birth at a much warmer latitude than their permanent homes in the south. The route of their home journey is certainly south-east, passing through the Tonga Groups. Due to many mothers suckling their young ones on this homeward journey, the travelling speed of this journey is very much reduced and whales are known to be scattered and not travelling in schools as they do on their northern trip. This accounts for mothers preferring to travel alone with their calves and not in the school which consists of mostly males. At times schools of more than twenty whales [825] are located but the whalers always ignore them as being too dangerous to attack. A straggler or a mother with a baby calf, avoiding the school, are the ones which often fall victims to the harpoon. When a whale is located, the whaling boat sails towards it, and at close quarters, sails and masts are pulled down. The harpooner stands aft, ready to put all his weight behind the harpoon, the whale, of course, being unaware of all this. When the harpoon is launched, the whale dives in fright to a certain depth, then sets out to swim with all its power in a mad dash to extricate the painful harpoon. The whalers, having let out fifty yards of rope to give the whale a start on the boat, tighten up and the boat is being

225 towed by the whale for miles, sometimes at a speed of twenty
miles an hour. After thirty minutes or so, the whale, having
spent a lot of energy, comes to the surface as its speed gradually reduces. The whalers, knowing that the animal is
nearly worn out with exhaustion, lessen the distance between
the boat and the whale by pulling in the harpoon rope to
close up for the kill. This being done, the mouth of the
whale is sown up to prevent the water entering the body
[262] and thus sinking the catch. It is then towed ashore to be
carved up for meat, oil not being exported.

7.—OTHER SEAFOOD.

226 (a) *Ala Kuka.* Small crabs known as *kuku*, of three
cubic inches in all, is a most relished seafood. These crea-
[825] tures inhabit the sandflat where mangrove trees grow but
[262] the Tongans do not bother about them until full moon high
tide (spring tide). When the tide goes out these crabs come
up above their burrows, being filled with water to the top.
Thousands can be found under the mangrove trees where
they are easily caught and bagged by the hundreds.

(b) *Uku Vasua. Vasua* (*Tridacna*) can be found in all
[196] groups in the Kingdom. Great care should be taken not to
get anything between its shells as it is going to be a certain
[262] loss. It is a popular seafood picked up from some depths by
divers.

(c) *Ala To'o* is the picking up of a small round whitish sea shellfish living in colonies on the sandflats.

(d) *Ala Kuku* is the picking of elongated reddish sea shellfish, living amongst rocks and seaweeds.

[262] (e) *Ala Muli'one.* Seaslug, although leathery, has
always been a seafood of the Tongans. It is very easy to
find on the sand flat all over the northern side of Tongatapu
and around the outlying islands of the other groups.

[262] (f) *Fua Kolukalu.* Jellyfish is another seafood much
relished by many Tongans. In Tongatapu the lagoon is the
only place where jellyfish is found in abundance.

(g) *Uku 'Uo* (lobster fishing). Lobsters are caught by spear-divers, mostly at night during high tide. At low tide lobsters stay in their hiding places under the rocks and at high tide they go up to the top of the reef to search for food.

At night the torch is lit and divers go under and spear them, one by one. 226

(h) *Shellfish ('Elili, Topulangi, Kaloa'a, Tavo'amanu).* These, and many others, are sought after by all Tongans. [825] *'Elili,* much larger in size than *topulangi,* are found on the rocks of the southern coast. They live on rocks where the waves break. Unless it is very calm, it is almost impossible to get them. *Topulangi* can be found on the reefs and sand-flats the same as *kaloa'a,* and *tava'amanu.*

(i) *Uku Tukumisi* (sea-egg fishing). Sea-eggs are [262] much relished by all Tongans. On the sand-flats of the outlying islands of the groups, *tukumisi* can be easily collected. Divers usually take their boat out to such areas of seaweeds where they are likely to be found and dive to a depth of six feet to collect them.

(j) *Tauhele Tolitoli* (crab trapping). Big crabs known as *tolitoli* are found on the reefs as well as on the sand-flats. In the water, divers usually spear them and on the sand-flats, where they live in burrows, they are often caught by setting traps at the mouth of the burrow. The legs of these crabs extend as much as twelve inches and more in length. *Tupa* is also trapped by this method although much smaller in size than the *tolitoli.*

8.—POISONOUS FISH.

Only a few fish species are reported to be poisonous, for instance *sokisoki* and *te'ete'e.* Eating these causes immediate death. *Ulukau* is said to be poisonous except in some regions, like Talau in Vava'u. 825

9.—DESCRIPTIVE LIST OF COMMON TONGAN FISH.

Fish Names. There is a wide variation in fish names, as far as vernacular is concerned, in the Pacific area, Not only the differences in Melanesia, Polynesia, and Micronesia, but also the peculiar way of naming fish differently in the adult and in the young stage even if they belong to the same species. 825 226 136

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	Tongan name of fish.	Habitat			Fishing method						Period of the year	Habit		Grade	Type of fish.
		Reef	Sandflat	Deepsea	Spear	Net	Trap	Line	Community	Other		In schools	Solitary		
1.	Menenga	X			X									1	Parrot
2.	Sikatoki	X			X									1	Parrot
3.	Mamana	X													Parrot
4.	Meai	X			X									3	Parrot
5.	Aloalohihina	X			X										Parrot
6.	Menengakalia	X													Parrot
7.	Humu	X													Rainbowfish Trigger
8.	Humu moana	X													Trigger
9.	Ngatala	X			X			X						I	Cod
10.	Tonukuli	X			X			X						1	Cod
11.	Ulutuki	X			X										Cod
12.	Ume poto	X			X										Leather-jacket
13.	Ume vale	X			X										Leather-jacket
14.	Ume lei	X			X										Leather-jacket
15.	Talangi	X			X									5	Leather-jacket
16.	Afali														
17.	Alongo														
18.	Pone	X			X										Leather-jacket
19.	Manini	X			X	X								5	
20.	Ta'a	X			X			X						1	
21.	Matapula	X			X									2	
22.	Telekihi	X			X									3	

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	Tongan name of fish.	Habitat			Fishing method						Period of the year	Habit		Grade	Type of Fish.
		Reef	Sandflat	Deepsea	Spear	Net	Trap	Line	Community	Other		In schools	Solitary		
23.	Telekihiloa	X			X										
24.	Kavakava moana														
25.	Sifisifi	X			X									3	Sailfish
26.	Mulumutu														
27.	Atu		X	X				X				X		1	Tuna
28.	Tonu			X	X			X						2	Groper
29.	Koango			X			X								Snapper
30.	'Uma			X			X							1	--
31.	Kiokio			X			X							5	
32.	'Anga			X											Shark
33.	Tutu'a														
34.	Ngatala	X													
35.	Sokisoki	X													
36.	Te'ete'e	X													
37.	Momoa	X					X								Foxfish
38.	Matu	X	X				X							1	
39.	Sipesipa	X	X				X							1	
40.	Tanutanu	X	X				X								
41.	Kavakava	X	X				X							6	Scaven- ger.
42.	Te'efo	X	X				X								
43.	Kanahe	X	X				X								Mullet
44.	Huli														
45.	Ulukau		X												
46.	'Otule		X		X	X	X						X		Tuna or Herring
47.	Toke		X												Eel
48.	Mataolo'i		X												Small Shark
49.	Lupo		X	X			X	X						1	Travelli- ng fish
50.	Fai			X			X							4	Sting- ray
51.	Fate						X								
52.	O														
53.	Ava														
54.	Vete		X					X							Surmul- let